Early Christian Literature Primers

THE POST-NICENE GREEK FATHERS

Rev'd GEORGE A. JACKSON

EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE PRIMERS,

edited by Professor GEORGE P. FISHER, D. D., LL. D.

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I. The Apostolic Fathers and the Apologists of the Second Century, A. D. 95–180.

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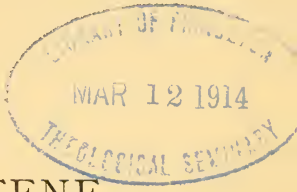

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BY

REV. GEORGE A. JACKSON.

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THE ALEXANDRIAN AND THE ANTIOCHIAN SCHOOLS.

THE interaction of these two schools of thought and centers of influence constitutes the history of the Eastern Church during the period before us. There is a technical use of terms which would limit "the Alexandrian School" to the theological institution connected with the Alexandrian Church and "the Antiochian School" to a certain school of scripture interpretation originating in Antioch. We, however, designate by the first the type of thought and the body of thinkers centering in Alexandria from the fourth century onward, and by the second the thought and thinkers peculiar at that period to the Orient. These two types of thought may be traced to a common source in the mind of Origen. This greatest theologian of the early Church was the culminating fruit of an earlier school at Alexandria. Five hundred years before he was born, the Greek conqueror founded, near the mouth of the Nile, within a few hours' sail of either Greece or Syria, the city which bears his name. The population of this earliest cosmopolitan center

was Greek, Jewish, and Egyptian, in about equal numbers. There, on what may be called neutral soil, were planted side by side the intellectual life of Greece and the moral and religious life of Palestine. Through the patronage of the Ptolemies and the influence of the great Alexandrian Library there grew up a school of literary and scientific men who made of Alexandria a second Athens. At the same time there sprang up among the Hebrew residents a school of the Rabbis, which was so famous as to be known among the whole nation as the "Light of Israel." The interchange of ideas between these two schools was the first step toward universalizing the peculiar treasures, the knowledge and the religion, the reason and the faith, of these two peoples. But the Ptolemaic and Rabbinic schools gave place to two others: the Neo-Platonic, a school of philosophy colored by the religion taught by the Rabbis; and the Christian, a school of faith enlightened and broadened by its contact with the Greek intellect. The origin of this Christian school was a catechetical class connected with the Alexandrian church. Pantænus, the first teacher to lift it to its high rank, was followed by Clement, the Christian philosopher, and he by Origen, under whom and his immediate successors *the* Alexandrian school *par excellence* completed its work. For we must now distinguish the work of the earlier and later Christian schools of Alexandria. The work of the school represented by Clement and Origen was to establish the claims of Christianity upon the intellect of the world. These teachers had not to develop and formulate the interior doctrines of the

faith; but, comprehending Christianity as a whole, as the revelation and redemptive power of the one Supreme God, to stamp it upon the human mind, in opposition to all polytheistic superstitions and fantastic philosophies. That work it successfully wrought, and thereby, above all other schools of thought, classical, ecclesiastical, or scientific, merited the first place in the estimation of an enlightened Christian world. But a mind which, like Origen's, could so grasp and so impress Christianity, could not fail to reason profoundly upon its interior problems. We, for whom the grander questions in theology have so long been solved, forget that their solution was the work of centuries. Thus the prevailing conception of God as triune, though founded upon the Scriptures, was not fully formulated until the fourth century. The Christian consciousness of the second century, side by side with its belief in one God, had fixed indefeasibly upon the Godhood of Christ. Then came, in the third century, an age of profound thought. Its chief work, as we have seen, was to reach God, not to define him. Nevertheless, vigorous thinkers who had reached him began to work on the problem which the preceding age had given, but had not itself the mind to ponder, viz., How one God with a divine Christ? One thinker, Sabellius, now answered, The twoness is only seeming, since the theophany in Christ is only economic and temporal, and will end as it began with the work of manifestation and redemption. But to Alexandrian minds, imbued with the idea of the Logos, this answer was not adequate. To Origen, who completed the Alexandrian concep-

tion of the Logos by his doctrine of the "Eternally-Begotten," the Eternal Son was as real and distinct as the one Supreme God; and, as the chief exponent of a school in which faith was wedded to science, he sought to understand the relations of these conceptions. That, however, was not his achievement. Faith and science never brought him beyond a conception of the Son as subordinate. But his faith had laid hold upon the two essential elements of the truth, the divineness and the eternal distinction of the Son; and hisreason pronounced them reconcilable. He, therefore, as the head-master of the first Alexandrian school, whose work was now substantially done, handed over to the next age a two-fold task: to keep what faith pronounced; to complete what reason had unsuccessfully begun. This was really a form of the work of which Alexandria had been the recognized center, since ever Greek and Jew had met in the newly founded city, only that work was now far advanced. Instead of "Are faith and reason reconcilable," the question now was, "How are they reconcilable?"

But Alexandria was no longer to monopolize a task which had been hers for four centuries. The last twenty years of Origen's life were spent in Asia, and of the twofold work which he projected into the fourth century, part, the faith-task, was left to the later school of Alexandria; and part, the task of reason, to what we call the school of Antioch. Perhaps no better distinction can be drawn between these two schools than to say that Alexandria represented the believing, the mystical, the intuitive Origen, Antioch the broad-minded, reasoning Origen.

We can not wonder at this division of labor. Each champion to do best his specific work must approach the task from a peculiar stand-point, and while one profound mind like Origen's might be developed in both the above directions, no body or school of men sufficiently numerous to work out the grand problem presented could possess this complex character. Let us note just what was to be done. The Christian consciousness as against Ebionism had long before acknowledged the Son, the Eternal Word, as divine. The Christian intellect had since affirmed that this needed explanation, and had sought such explanation first in Sabellianism, then in Subordinationism. The first of these did not satisfy the intelligence, the second did not meet the demands of faith. So the Church stood at the beginning of the fourth century, a part resting with all its weight upon a divine Christ, a part in an intellectual ferment, believing yet anxious until its intellect should follow its faith. Without the anchorage furnished by the former party, the Church might drift upon the rocks of doubt; without the sails of the latter, she would never make a haven of rest. That haven was to be the trinitarian dogma as completed at the Council of Constantinople. Without tracing the steps by which this dogma was formulated, we may briefly note the workers and the characteristic work of Alexandria and of the East.

Since the days of Dionysius, who had for a time perpetuated the subordination views of Origen, the Alexandrian leaders had been asserting with more and more of earnestness and obliviousness to its intellectual bearings the truth of the Godhood of

Christ. To continue this bold assertion in the face of all opposition, and side by side with the assertion of a distinct Father and Son, was the part of Alexandria. The one man who almost by his sole efforts performed this work was Athanasius. He is rightly called the great Trinitarian; yet his was not so much a constructive as a conserving work. His own mind was never perplexed with questions as to *how* there is one God and the consubstantial Son. The Christian consciousness, the devout, the religious element in the Church, had intuitively grasped both these elements as facts; and when, at Nice, the bishop of Alexandria and his young deacon insisted upon the *ὁμοούσιον*, it was simply as conservers of what was held by the fathers as a matter of profound faith. So throughout his long career as champion of the Nicene symbol, Athanasius, notwithstanding his "Orations against the Arians," was rather the living and inflexible embodiment of a faith in the several elements of the trinitarian doctrine than a philosophical exponent of that doctrine.

But over against this conserving *πίστις* was the outreaching *γνῶσις* whose home was now in the East. For although Arius first broached his theory of subordination in Alexandria, his doctrines had previously been propounded by Lucian of Antioch, and it was in the churches of the Orient that the opposing theories of subordination and patripassionism found congenial minds and their chief support. For fifty years following the Council of Nice almost every prominent mind of the Eastern Church shows signs of unrest under the definitions of that

body. Eusebius of Nicomedia, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Acacius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Basil of Ancyra, Ætius, and Eunomius, on the one hand, represent various degrees of Arianism. Marcellus of Ancyra and Photinus, at the other extreme, hold to a modified Sabellianism. We shall think but narrowly, if we dismiss the controversies and the creed-making of this period as the mere gymnastics of restless or ambitious minds. They were rather the intellectual throes by which birth was given to the rational acceptance of a dictum of faith. Looking back upon the conflict, we see the Alexandrian bishop tossed and buffeted, but holding ever aloft his intuitively formed creed and saying firmly, "I believe." The bishops of the East, analyzing, defining, accepting, denying, receiving, anathematizing through a long generation, at last find out every intellectual element involved; and then the struggle is brought to an end by the rise of three men. Basil and the two Gregorys, educated amid the battle, have the minds to discern, the hearts to believe, and the wisdom and courage to demonstrate that reason and faith are at one in their approval of the dogma of Nice. When, therefore, the symbol uttered by Alexandrian faith A. D. 325 is reaffirmed at Constantinople A. D. 381, that affirmation is the product of the Antiochian reason.

But this formulating of the trinitarian dogma was only one of the two great contests in which Alexandria and Antioch were respectively the representatives of faith and reason. The fifth century presented a new problem in the person of Christ. Apollinaris having asserted that Christ had no hu-

man soul, but that instead the Logos was the animating principle of his human body, the Council of Constantinople repudiated this doctrine, and expressly recognized the human soul. But, like the Council of Nice, it simply affirmed a truth, and left it for the future to define and defend. The goal to be reached through long agitation and bitter controversy was the definition of Chalcedon. The distinctive task of faith was now, while admitting a certain human personality, to maintain the exclusively divine in Christ. The task of reason was to make the human nature a real element in the Christological conception. The faith of the whole Church had been over-ready to use terms which seemed to favor the Godhood of the Son. One expression of that nature which had come into somewhat wide use was "Mother of God," as applied to the Virgin Mary. Phrases of this sort were in especial favor in Egypt. When, therefore, Nestorius, who had been called from the church at Antioch to the patriarchate of Constantinople, took grounds against the indiscriminate use of *θεοτόκος*, he at once found an opponent in Cyril of Alexandria. Whether animated by a holy zeal or moved by an unrighteous envy of his rival, Cyril launched against Nestorius twelve anathemas, enunciating the mystical, incomprehensible fact of the union of deity and humanity in the one person of Christ, in such a manner that the predicates of the divine and of the human Christ could be used interchangeably. In the response made to these anathemas, we see not only the Antiochian spirit, but also the work of the historic Antiochian school of interpretation. More

than fifty years before this, Diodorus of Tarsus, then a priest and a teacher of the Scriptures at an institution in the suburbs of Antioch, had devoted himself to the interpretation of scripture in an historical and grammatical sense, breaking away from the old allegorical methods. He had for his pupils Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia, the latter of whom succeeded him as the representative of this reasonable use of scripture in matters of doctrine. By such usage Theodore was led to scatter all those misty and unreal conceptions with which the traditional interpretation had enveloped the person of Christ, and to see in him not only the divine Logos, but also the real man depicted in the gospels. Nestorius, if not an actual pupil of Theodore, was trained in the same institution at Antioch, and shared the opinions of this great father. His repudiation of the term "Mother of God" was in strict accord with the Antiochian spirit, and when denounced by Cyril he at once applied to his friend, John of Antioch, to have a reply made by one of their school. This work was assigned to Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus. The controversy led to the Council of Ephesus, A. D. 431, at which Nestorius was deposed, and the Alexandrian dogma of the one nature was affirmed. Nothing, however, was settled by this action, which was grossly partisan. For although Nestorius's deposition was confirmed, the Syrians still contended for the biblical Christ of a divine and a human nature, while the Alexandrians as stoutly contended for their traditional, mystical Christ in whom the human was virtually swallowed up in the divine. Cyril and Theo-

doret continue this controversy, and when Cyril dies, his successor, Dioscorus, takes up the cause. "God was born," "God suffered," were Alexandrian rallying-cries, which were taken up by monks in the Egyptian interest in Palestine and at Constantinople. The zeal of a certain Eutyches, one of these monks, led at last to an open rupture, and to the calling of a council, A. D. 449, for a new decision of the point at issue. This gathering fell under the control of Dioscorus, who with his monks conducted himself so outrageously that it has always borne the name of the *Robber Synod.* Changes a court, however, soon made possible the repudiation of this council, and the gathering of the fourth general council at Chalcedon. Here, although the memory of Nestorius was branded, a creed was adopted which recognized the work of the Antiochian teachers; and the Egyptian mysticism received such a blow that it never again became dominant in the Church. Theodoret also, who had been deposed at Ephesus, was restored to his see. With this definition culminated the distinctive labors of the schools of Alexandria and Antioch; for the subsequent struggles of the Monophysites and the defenders of Chalcedon were not contests of thought, but only quarrels for place and power. Both schools had sadly degenerated and soon sank into the worst caricatures of their former selves. It was indeed a lofty faith which had enabled Athanasius for fifty years, through all perils, to advocate the consubstantial Trinity; but it was only a pitiable superstition which led the fanatic monks of Alexandria to shout for the "Mother of God." So

it was an enviable rationalism which had enabled the three Cappadocians to justify to men's reason a grand dictum of faith; but it was only a miserable pedantry with which the later Orientals measured and defined the thousand-and-one points of orthodoxy.

As we saw, in the work of Origen in the third century, a parallel to labors to which the present age is recurring, so had we space we might profitably note some modern parallels to these parties of the fourth and fifth centuries. The Church has still her Alexandria, and her leaders to whom a traditional faith is more than all rational systems of belief. She has also her Antiochian body, with its heterogeneous elements. As in that ancient time, so now, a part of this thinking body are so exalting reason that they forget the faith; but the larger portion, let us hope, studying rationally the written word, are proving the Basils and Gregorys, the Diodoruses and Theodores, the Chrysostoms and Theodorets, of our new age of biblical study.

SYMBOLS OF THE FIRST FOUR ŒCUMENICAL COUNCILS.

So much of the Church literature of this age has reference to the doctrinal definitions of the first four councils that acquaintance with the symbols which they adopted is necessary to an appreciation of the writings. The definitions of all four councils were strictly *theo*logical, anthropology being mainly left to the more practical West. There is a noticeable distinction, however, between the work of the first two and the two succeeding assemblies. The Councils of Nice, A. D. 325, and Constantinople, A. D. 381, formulated in their creeds the conception of God in his entirety, as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The Councils of Ephesus, A. D. 431, and Chalcedon, A. D. 451, advanced to the more specific consideration of the person of the Son. At Ephesus no authoritative symbol was uttered, the delegates being divided into an Alexandrian or one-nature party, and an Antiochian or two-natures party. These afterward compromised by the concurrence of the latter in the excommunication of Nestorius, champion of the two natures,

and the consent of the former to a confession allowing the two natures. Thus was necessitated the Council of Chalcedon, which propounded a symbol since recognized by the Church Catholic as rightly defining the person of Christ.

NICENO-CONSTANTINOPOLITAN CREED.

I believe in one God the Father Almighty; Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father; by whom all things were made; who, for us men and for our salvation, came down from heaven and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man; and was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate; he suffered and was buried; and the third day he rose again according to the Scriptures; and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father; and he shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead; whose kingdom shall have no end.

And I believe in the Holy Ghost,* the Lord and Giver of Life; who proceedeth from the Father [and the Son]; who with the Father and the Son together is worshiped and glorified; who spake by the prophets. And one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. I acknowledge one baptism for the

* The Nicene Creed ended here. Appended to it, however, was the following anathema: "But those who say that 'there was once when He was not,' and 'before He was begotten He was not,' and that 'from the not being He came to be'; or those who say that the Son of God is 'of another substance or essence,' or 'created,' or 'alterable,' or 'mutable,' the Catholic Church anathematizes."

remission of sins; and I look for the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come. Amen.

THE SYMBOL OF CHALCEDON.

We, then, following the holy fathers, all with one consent, teach men to confess one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, the same perfect in Godhead and also perfect in manhood; truly God and truly man, of a reasonable soul and body; consubstantial with the Father according to the Godhead and consubstantial with us according to the manhood; in all things like unto us, without sin; begotten before all ages of the Father according to the Godhead, and in these latter days, for us and for our salvation, born of the Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, according to the manhood; one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, to be acknowledged in two natures, inconfusedly, unchangeably, indivisibly, inseparably; the distinction of natures being by no means taken away by the union, but rather the property of each nature being preserved, and concurring in one person and one subsistence, not parted or divided into two persons, but one and the same Son, and only-begotten, God the Word, the Lord Jesus Christ; as the prophets from the beginning have declared concerning him, and the Lord Jesus Christ himself has taught us, and the creed of the holy fathers has handed down to us.

THE

POST-NICENE GREEK FATHERS.

EUSEBIUS.

THE Father of Church History. He was born and educated in Palestine, where he was made a presbyter of the church at Cæsarea. Here he became connected with the library and school of theology founded by the presbyter Pamphilus, an enthusiastic admirer of Origen, and collector of ecclesiastical writings. His close friendship for this man gave to Eusebius his surname Pamphilus. In the persecution of Diocletian he constantly visited Pamphilus in prison, and together they composed a work in defense of Origen. After the martyrdom of his friend, Eusebius went first to Tyre and then to Egypt, where he was himself imprisoned, but was released without suffering bodily injury. With this escape he was afterward taunted by a bishop who, as his fellow-prisoner, had lost an eye; but this reproach seems to have been ill founded, for on his return to Cæsarea he was well received, and about A. D. 314 he was chosen bishop of that see. In this position he remained until his death, A. D. 340, having nine years before declined

the patriarchate of Antioch. He did not need this preferment, however, to give him prominence and influence in the Church. Born about the time of Origen's death, and living until near the birth of Jerome, he was a scholar worthy to connect the author of the "Hexapla" with the author of the "Vulgate." Among his earlier works were the elaborate apologetic writings, "Evangelic Preparation" and "Demonstration." These were followed before the Council of Nice by the "Chronicon" and his chief work, the Church History. Either from the reputation gained by his earlier labors, or through his native talents as a courtier, he became a favorite of the Emperor Constantine, who admitted him to familiar personal intercourse and placed at his command the archives of the state as helps to his historical studies. On the breaking out of the Arian difficulty, Arius appealed to the Eastern bishops for support, claiming that his opinions were like their own. Some of them, under the leadership of Eusebius of Nicomedia, wrote to Alexander in behalf of Arius. Among these was Eusebius of Cæsarea, of whose support of Arius Alexander complains somewhat bitterly. But, while assenting to the views which Arius at first propounded, Eusebius did not assume a position antagonistic to the Church. When the council convened at Nice, he held a mediate position between the parties of Alexander and Arius, and made an address to the emperor in the name of the whole synod. It was he also who submitted the first draft of the symbol adopted by the council, the only important addition to his language being the

phrases "very God of very God" and "of one substance with the Father." Though demurring to these expressions, he subscribed the symbol, wrote to his church that the council was substantially in accord with their own confession, and never afterward repudiated the Nicene faith. He did not, however, sympathize with Athanasius, and in consequence was denounced by some of the later fathers as an Arian, particularly by Jerome, who called him the ringleader of those heretics. This charge is palpably untrue, and, had it come from a less learned and more candid man than Jerome, might have arisen from the confusing of the two Eusebii. Eusebius of Nicomedia was an extreme Arian who avowed doctrines far in advance of those first propounded by Arius and approved by the bishop of Cæsarea. The doctrinal position of the latter has been characterized as "chameleon-hued," "a mirror of the unsolved problems of the Church of that age." If he is classified at all, we should place him in the right wing of the Arianizing party, which in time separated from the radicals and was known as semi-Arian. Of this party Athanasius came to speak as "blessed and truly religious men," "brothers who mean what we mean and dispute only about the word [*ὁμοούσιον*]." Most of these went over in time into full accord with the Catholic bishops. We may define the general position of the Catholics and semi-Arians by saying that, until the traditional doctrines of the Church as defined at Nice had been scientifically examined and approved by the reason and faith of the fourth century, the semi-Arians always approached these

doctrines from the side of reason, the Athanasians from the side of faith. Their ultimate agreement was assured by the substantial truth of the Nicene utterance; but such agreement could not come until the doctrines were thought through. It is noticeable that the above language of Athanasius was used as late as A. D. 356. Had Eusebius lived until the period of Gregory Nyssa, he and Gregory and Athanasius would doubtless have been brothers who not only meant, but also said, the same things.

THE EVANGELICAL PREPARATION.

The object of this work, which is in fifteen books, is to predispose the thoughtful to receive the Christian religion by dissipating their pagan prejudices. The first six books are employed in demolishing the pagan systems of religion, which the author shatters by his learned elucidations. The pure and reasonable character of the Christian theology and the blessings which the faith has brought to the world are set forth in contrast with the absurd teachings of polytheism. This system Eusebius first traces back to its cradle among the Egyptians, whose alleged antiquity he attacks as chimerical, affirming that their annals are based upon a gross interpolation of Scripture records. He then follows the system as it spread among the Greeks and the other peoples of the world. He confutes the argument of pagans from the predictions of their oracles; and combats the doctrine of a fatality or destiny stronger than the gods themselves, opposing to it the principle of human freedom. Then comes an examination of the Hebrew legislation in comparison with that of the other nations, the legislator of the chosen people being shown to be the Sovereign Author and Creator of all things. The

remaining books oppose to the extravagance of paganism the Christian faith, which is first viewed in its origin as the religion of the Hebrews. Its wisdom is made to appear by showing the purity and sublimity of its dogmas upon the unity of God, the immortality of the soul, etc.; the character of the Mosaic law, which was confessedly only figurative and preparatory; and the holiness of the patriarchs, prophets, and Essenes. The most celebrated men among the Greeks have borne honorable witness to this faith; and philosophers, among others Plato, have borrowed from it some of their dogmas. Three books are occupied in tracing Plato's indebtedness to Scripture, and the conclusion is reached that this philosopher teaches truthfully only when he copies; left to himself he abounds in errors. The fourteenth and fifteenth books examine the other leading writers of antiquity, showing how they oppose and contradict one another. From all this the author concludes that Christians are right in abandoning a false theology in favor of that of the Jews.

THE EVANGELICAL DEMONSTRATION.

Ten only of the twenty books of this work are extant. The exordium declares that the Christian religion is established by the prophecies which foretold the birth at Bethlehem, the sufferings and death of Christ; and announced the establishment and marvelous propagation of Christianity. In the first book the author proves that the law of the Jews was given for one only nation, while the New Testament is for all people in the world; and that the religion of the patriarchs did not differ from that of Christians, both having the same God and the same Word whom they adore. This is confirmed, says the second book, by prophecies ap-

plicable only to Jesus Christ. In book three Christ is shown to be the Saviour of the world; and that he was no seducer is proved by his doctrines and his miracles. Book four proves that Jesus Christ is the Son of God; sets forth the reason why he became man; explains the name "Christ"; and shows how the prophecies and other scriptures, as well as the events of Jewish history and the ceremonies of the Mosaic ritual, looked forward to him. Then we are shown how, before his advent, the precise time of his appearing was predicted, his ancestors were designated, the place of his birth was fixed, his forerunner was spoken of, the mission of his apostles was characterized, and the circumstances of the treason of one of them were noted. Christ, having fulfilled all these prophecies, is proved to be the true Messiah, and there is no excuse for the incredulity of the synagogue. The extant books end with the words of Christ upon the cross, the ten lost books having cited the prophecies concerning his death, burial, resurrection, and ascension, and concerning the conversion of the Gentiles.

Of these two books Du Pin says: "The 'Evangelical Preparation' and 'Demonstration' are the largest work that has been made by any of the ancients upon this subject; where a man may find more proofs, testimonies, and arguments for the truth of the Christian religion than in any other. They are very proper to instruct and convince all those that sincerely search after truth. In fine, Eusebius has omitted nothing which might serve to undeceive men of a false religion or convince them of the true."

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

This first of church histories was written before the Council of Nice. The work must not be judged by modern canons of the historic art; nor is its value to be gauged by its literary merit, in which

respect it illustrates what has been said of the early ecclesiastical literature as a whole. It is, however, a well-filled store-house of the facts and documents out of which history is made. To appreciate its value rightly, we must imagine that the book had perished during the dark ages, and think of the gap which it would have left in our knowledge of the Church from the last days of Paul to the conversion of Constantine. Eusebius himself was not unaware of the importance of his labors. Announcing the subject of his book—to recount the succession of the apostles and the important transactions of the Church; to notice her distinguished individuals and the characters of the innovators; as well as to set forth the calamities of the Jews and the progress of the Church through hostility and martyrdom—he says that he is the first to enter this broad field, and that he has culled his materials from the writers of the past, with the purpose of rescuing them from oblivion. Nor was this Father of Church History inappreciative of the lofty nature of the subject upon which he was entering. For he begins, not on a terrestrial level, nor in cloudy myths, but by treating boldly of the Son of God, existing before the worlds, whose advent and advancing work among men is his noble theme. His history consists of ten short books, or, better, chapters. Though his method may be likened to that of the first rude miner with his pan, and though he has thrown away unknown wealth and preserved some earth, the sands were so rich and the heavier nuggets were so easily gathered that these chapters are invaluable. Among other topics treated are the movements of the more prominent apostles in founding the leading churches; the succession of bishops in these churches; various ecclesiastical writings; the persecutions of the Church, and her martyrs; the demolition of the

churches under Diocletian; the death of the enemies of the Church; and her relief and exaltation under Constantine. The design of our books makes it unnecessary to characterize further the Ecclesiastical History, since happily it is an exception among patristic writings in being accessible to all, and in the possession of most persons who are much interested in the early Church.

List of Eusebius's most Important Works now extant.

HISTORICAL. The "Chronicon," a summary universal history, giving chronological tables and a sketch of the most important historical events from Abraham to Constantine, a work of much value for the study of ancient history. The "Ecclesiastical History." "Life of Constantine," a work in four books, of which the "Panegyric" may be called a fifth; indeed, the whole is a panegyric rather than a biography. APOLOGETIC AND DOGMATIC. "Preparatio Evangelica." "Demonstratio Evangelica." "Book against Hierarchs," written in refutation of a work against the Christians, published at the outbreak of the Diocletian persecution, and one of the last attempts to brand Christianity by comparing its author to Apollonius of Tyana. "Against Marcellus," and "On the Doctrine of the Church." In opposing Arianism, Marcellus had virtually revived Sabellianism; and in the above works Eusebius opposes him and reasserts the hypostatical distinctions. The "Theophania." "On the Easter Festival," a book deemed by Constantine so important that he caused its immediate translation into Latin. EXEGETICAL. Commentaries on "The Psalms" (voluminous), "Isaiah" and "Luke." The "Onomasticon," an alphabetical description of places mentioned in the Scriptures.

ATHANASIUS,

THE great Trinitarian. For fifty momentous years he was the central figure in the Christian world. His history is that of the Church in the

most critical period of its existence, when it united its interests with an empire, and hazarded the truth in gaining outward prosperity. Hazarded, but did not lose; for, during these years, above soldiers and above emperors, stood forth the grand figure of this champion of the truth. As in the coalition the emperor was the state, so practically Athanasius was the church, until the relations of church and state had been so far adjusted that the church could not be absorbed or made a mere department of the state. Human annals record no life more absolutely devoted to a simple principle. Fifty years of battling and exile, the forces of an empire against him, and all for an *ι*!* Hosius, after a hundred years of firmness, yielded. Liberius, the bishop of Rome, yielded; but, "the whole world against Athanasius, and Athanasius against it," he stood like the rock on which his feet were planted. There were other defenders of the truth in his own age, some of whom, after his death, did more for its logical adjustment than he had done; but none dispute his foremost place. His greatness was in grasping and embodying the truth, as yet unadjusted; holding it as in a citadel through a period when truth, resting only upon faith, must otherwise have been lost.

Athanasius was born about A. D. 297. When a young man he became secretary to Bishop Alexander, and thus early began his training for the see of Alexandria. He first became known to the world through his two apologetical books, "Against the

* *ὁμοούσιον* was the orthodox, *ὁμοιούσιον* the heretical watchword.

Gentiles" and "On the Incarnation of the Word," the second of which suggests the habit of mind which afterward made him the great opponent of Arianism. He accompanied Alexander to the Council of Nice, and, though not a regular member of that body, he took a prominent part in the discussions in the defense of the apostolic doctrines. Five months later he was elected bishop of Alexandria. For a few years the decision of the council secured tranquillity; but the reviving influence of Eusebius of Nicomedia over Constantine led to a new recognition of Arius, and to consequent opposition to the Alexandrian bishop as his most zealous antagonist. Charges were preferred against Athanasius, which caused him, A. D. 335, to be summoned before a council at Tyre. Justice being denied him there, he fled to Constantinople, and in the streets of the capital appealed personally to the emperor. Owing, however, to fresh charges by his enemies, Constantine caused his banishment to Arles, where he remained until A. D. 338, when he returned to his people. The Emperor Constantine yielding to the Arians, the Cappadocian Gregory was in 340 appointed to the see of Alexandria, whereupon Athanasius fled to Italy and appealed to the bishop of Rome for support. After six years of waiting, during which a council at Rome and the Council of Sardica indorsed him and condemned his enemies, Constantine was at last, upon the death of Gregory, induced to restore him to his see. Here he remained until A. D. 356, when he was driven forth to another six years of exile, which ended upon the accession of the Emperor

Julian. He was expelled again for a few months toward the close of this reign, and yet once more under the reign of Valens; but, in February 366, he returned for the last time. The interval before his death, in 373, was comparatively undisturbed, and was devoted to unceasing labors in refuting heretics and establishing the faithful.

His famous "Historical Tracts" and his chief work, the "Orations against the Arians," were written in intervals of his years of battling. To the more tranquil close of his career belongs his "Life of Anthony."

Valuable texts of the "Tracts" and "Orations" are made easily accessible in Bright's Oxford edition.

TREATISE AGAINST THE GENTILES.

Athanasius points out the origin of idolatry in human selfishness, which led man, made in the image of God, and free, to turn away from contemplating his Creator and regard himself and his own happiness. This happiness he thought to find in the senses, and that which gratified his passions he called good. The true idea of the Creator being lost, he saw nothing beyond his senses. Everything became divine, and he erected altars to the elements, to heroes, to animals, and to things insensible and even imaginary. Then the genius of the several nations led them to take for their gods whatever was like their own characters. Poetry framed for these gods customs adventures, wants, and weaknesses like our own, and philosophy gave credence thereto by silence or by apologies. After showing the extravagance of polytheism, and that the Creator is incorporeal and independent, the author points out the two natural ways of escaping idola-

try: through that internal light which in every man points to the one God, and through the contemplation of nature in its unity. These, however, have not sufficed for man; and so it has been needful for God to make himself known through his Word.

DISCOURSE ON THE INCARNATION.

The world was not made by chance nor from pre-existing matter, but by God through his Word. The fall of man, who, made in God's image, addicted himself to what was corrupt, was the cause of the incarnation. For, God pitying man, and resolving to save him and restore his immortality, this could be accomplished in no other way than by the sending of his Son: 1. Because, being the essential Image of the Father, the Son alone could render man like God; 2. Because, being the Wisdom of God, he only could teach men. After speaking of the benefits accruing from the incarnation, the author suggests that the ignominy of the cross was chosen to give to Christ's death a solemn *éclat* commensurate with the extraordinary character of his resurrection. The fact of the resurrection is proved by the wonderful conversions which are wrought in the name of Jesus Christ, conquests possible only to one who is alive. True, he is not now visible to our eyes, still he makes himself known. The blind man whose eyes are closed to the light of the sun none the less feels the grateful warmth of its rays. The incarnation is proved by an appeal to the fulfillment of prophecy, to the cessation of the oracles, and to the authenticity of the miracles wrought during our Lord's life and after his death. The source of all this truth is the Holy Scriptures, to understand which one should live like the authors of these books.

HISTORICAL TRACTS.

As the loss of Eusebius's history would have left in obscurity the career through which the Church advanced to its important position as a visible institution, so the loss of these "Tracts" would have thrown an obscuring cloud over the circumstances under which it elaborated, and the determined struggle by which it maintained, its fundamental teachings. For, unlike our other sources of information as to this period, these writings of Athanasius give us original documentary evidence, of a kind which compels our acceptance. The work which commonly passes under the above title is a series of papers described as follows:

An Encyclical Epistle addressed to all Bishops everywhere.

This letter was written by Athanasius, A. D. 341, upon the coming of Gregory, whom a council at Antioch had named bishop of Alexandria. It recounts Gregory's violent seizure of churches, by the aid of the prefect Philagrius and a furious mob of heathens and Jews, and the outrages which followed. The letter begins by citing the Scripture story of the Levite's wife whose dismembered body was sent to all Israel, and closes with an earnest appeal to the bishops not to allow the church of Alexandria to be thus trodden down by heretics, but to avenge its wrongs as being their own. The bishops are also enjoined not to receive any communication from the Arian Gregory.

An Apology against the Arians.

This work, written after the author's return from his second exile, is a collection of numerous documents relating to many of the most important transactions of the Church from A. D. 300 to 350, and

vindicating the position of Athanasius. The more noteworthy of them are: 1. "An Encyclical from the Egyptian Bishops." Whereas charges are made that Athanasius on his return was guilty of bloodshed and violence, we utterly deny it. The hostility of the Eusebians toward Athanasius began before the death of Alexander; but, after the Council of Nice and his election to the bishopric, this opposition became more malignant. In their council at Tyre they charged him with being elected clandestinely, whereas we testify that it was by a majority of the body of bishops, and with the acclamation of all the people. They now assert that it was a day of mourning when he returned to the city after his exile, whereas it was a day of joy, the people running together in their eager desire to see him. What sort of a council was that (of Tyre) to try him, in which every one was his enemy, and which was conducted by secular officers? There they charged Athanasius with the murder of Arsenius, who is alive, and is now seeking admission into the Church. Having found this council determined to crush him, Athanasius went himself to the emperor, but was followed by the bishops, who, dropping their former charges, falsely accused him of detaining the corn-ships in Alexandria. Thus they secured his banishment to Gaul. The charge made at the council of the breaking of a chalice could not be proved, even though they sent a hostile committee into Egypt to take testimony. The presbyters of the Mareotis deny it, and the emperor himself declared his accusers calumniators. And now Athanasius is accused of appropriating to his own uses corn which was given by the emperor for the support of widows; but the widows themselves acknowledge that they have always received the corn. The Eusebians are in league with the Arians in their wickedness; wherefore give no heed to their

communication. 2. "Letter of Julius to the Eusebians at Antioch." Herein is set forth that Athanasius was fully vindicated by a council held at Rome. The Eusebians, on the contrary, have been in communion with the Arians; their proceedings against Athanasius have been of an *ex parte* nature; and they have in an uncanonical manner elected Gregory to the distant see of Alexandria, and caused him to be inducted by military force. Even bodily injuries have been inflicted on Catholic bishops. They must correct this conduct, for in any case they are disregarding the canons of the Church. 3. "Letters of the Council of Sardica." The Emperors Constantius and Constans caused the bishops of the East and West to meet at Sardica in the most considerable council between the first and second general councils. The Eastern bishops, who were chiefly Eusebians, withdrew on finding themselves in the minority. The decisions of the council were set forth in letters to the church of Alexandria and to the bishops of Egypt and Libya, and in an encyclical. The latter speaks of the persecution of Athanasius and Marcellus of Ancyra, the unsatisfactory conduct of the Eusebians in times past, and the flight of the latter from the council. The proceedings against Athanasius have been *ex parte*. Marcellus has in his book effectually exposed the fraud of the Eusebians who have accused him. Asclepas also has proved his innocence. The Eusebians have received and promoted Arians. Outrages, too, have been permitted. Accordingly, Athanasius, Marcellus, and Asclepas are declared innocent, and the wolves who have invaded their sees are excommunicated. Other Eusebian bishops the holy council deposes and declares unworthy to commune with the faithful. For, as Arians, they come under the rule concerning those who preach another gospel. 4. "Certain

Imperial and Ecclesiastical Acts and Letters." These have to do chiefly with the return of Athanasius to his see after the Council of Sardica. 5. "Documents relating to Charges brought by the Miletians." This was a disaffected party at Alexandria which had been secured as allies by the Eusebians. 6. "Documents connected with the Council of Tyre." These are such as prove the falsity of the charge about the chalice; also, a letter from the Council of Jerusalem calling upon the church at Alexandria to receive the Arians; and the letter from Constantine Cæsar on the first restoration of Athanasius, saying that the latter had been sent to Gaul to rescue him from his enemies.

An Encyclical of Athanasius to Bishops of Egypt and Libya.

Written A. D. 356, its chief historical value is in its reference to an attempt of the Arians to induce the bishops to subscribe one of the Arian creeds devised by them as a substitute for the Nicene symbol.

Apology of Athanasius to Constantius.

It was evidently written for delivery before the emperor, though never so delivered, and defends the author among other charges against imputations upon his loyalty since his second return. Its date is A. D. 356.

Apology of Athanasius for his Flight.

Written A. D. 357. The outrages of Gregory were such that the author must have perished had he fallen into his hands. He therefore had taken counsel from scripture and withdrawn, not as fearing death—for that would have been far more tolerable than flight—but that he might continue to

maintain the Lord's cause. Many scripture examples of such flight, including our Lord's, afford authority for this action.

Epistle to Serapion on the Death of Arius.

After Arius had sworn before Constantius that he held (ὀρθῶς) the right faith, and did not profess the opinions for which Alexander (of Alexandria) had excommunicated him, his friends contended that he should be allowed to commune with them the next day in the bishop's church. But Bishop Alexander (of Constantinople) in great anxiety prayed to God, lying on the chancel pavement: "If Arius is brought to communion to-morrow, let me thy servant depart, and destroy not the pious with the impious; but, if thou wilt spare thy Church, look upon the words of the Eusebians, and give not their inheritance to destruction and reproach, and take off Arius." Before the time for communion, Arius died suddenly, whereby the Lord condemned the Arian heresy, and showed it to be unworthy of communion with the Church.

History of the Arians.

This work continues the account given in the "Apology against the Arians" down to A. D. 357. It begins by speaking of the Eusebians as admitting the Arians to communion, and causing the banishment of Eustathius of Antioch, Marcellus of Ancyra, Eutropius of Adrianople, and Paul of Constantinople, the latter being cruelly put to death. Seeing themselves declining in numbers and power, the Eusebians, after failing to get satisfaction through a council, appealed to Constantius to assist them by appointing Philagrius prefect, and naming Gregory as bishop of Alexandria. Gregory was inducted into this position by force, and perpetrat-

ed great cruelties. Athanasius, meantime, went to Rome, where a council of fifty bishops received him and denounced the Eusebians. The emperors Constantius and Constans having united in calling a council at Sardica, that council also vindicated Athanasius. The Eusebians who had withdrawn from Sardica went on with their cruelties, having the secular power in their favor. At last their shamelessness turned Constantius against them, and he sent for Athanasius to come to Antioch. Dismissing him thence to return to Alexandria, the emperor swore solemnly that he would never again listen to accusations against him. The peace which followed, however, did not endure. Upon going to the West after the overthrow of Maxentius, Constantius took sides again with the Arians at Arles and Milan. Word was sent to Alexandria that the government supplies of corn should be taken from Athanasius and delivered to the Arians. Orders were also sent to all the cities, requiring the bishops either to subscribe against Athanasius and hold communion with the Arians, or to go into banishment. By threats and promises many were thus induced to subscribe. Among notable confessors who refused were four who, in the very presence of Constantius, urged that this novel procedure was contrary to the canons. To this the monarch replied: "Whatever I will, be that esteemed a canon; the bishops of Syria let me speak for them. Either, then, obey or be banished." Liberius, bishop of Rome, long resisted, but at last, after two years of banishment, and upon threats of death, he subscribed. Hosius, who presided at the councils of Nice and Sardica, now a hundred years old, after persistent refusals, was finally compelled to commune with Valens and Ursacius, two Arian champions. He did not, however, subscribe against Athanasius, whom, he said, "we and the church of the Romans and the whole

council pronounced to be guiltless." Most earnest efforts were now made against the church of Alexandria, from which Athanasius quietly withdrew. Senators and magistrates and wardens of heathen temples (!) were compelled to agree to receive as bishop whomsoever the emperor should send. An attack was made on the great church; the worshipers were shockingly abused, and the sacred utensils were carried into the street and burned, while frankincense was thrown on the flames, and shouts went up, "Constantius has become a heathen!" A general persecution followed, in which many endured martyrdom. Constantius, who thus persecuted the faithful, is worse than Saul or Ahab or Pilate. This is not to be wondered at, however, of one who has acted so murderously toward his own family. He has now begun the work of replacing the bishops of Egypt and Libya with Arians, and disorder everywhere prevails. It is not simply persecution, but a prelude to the coming of Antichrist. To the sees of venerable bishops are nominated profligate heathen youths, and men accused of crimes, who have gained these places by money or through political influence. Surely Constantius lacks no one of the marks of Antichrist.

The Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia.

Urged by Ursacius and Valens, the emperor first issued a call for a general council to meet at Nice; but afterward the Western bishops were convoked at Ariminum, the Eastern at Seleucia. There was no occasion for this council, which brought contempt upon the Church, as not yet knowing its own faith. The division of a general council, too, was an unheard-of thing; though this in the end led to good. There was a call for the Nicene Council to fix the Easter festival and to rebut a specific heresy, but

now no new heresy had arisen. The true aim of the originators of the council was simply to overthrow the Nicene doctrine. At Ariminum there gathered four hundred bishops. Ursacius and Valens produced a paper, substantially the third Sirmian creed, and demanded its adoption. The council first required that the proposers should anathematize the Arians, and, when they refused it, declared in favor of the Nicene creed, and published a decree condemning and deposing Ursacius and Valens and three of their companions. The fathers also wrote to Constantius, announcing their action, and praying for liberty to dissolve and go home.*

At Seleucia one hundred and sixty bishops were present. The semi-Arian party predominated, and they accepted the Nicene doctrine, save that they complained of the term "consubstantial" as obscure and open to suspicion. They deposed and excommunicated Acasius and many others of the extreme Arians.

Various statements of Arian doctrine were made in Arius's "Thalia,"† and in letters and papers of the Eusebii and others, prior to any official recognition of the party. In A. D. 335 the council which convened at Jerusalem for the dedication of Constantine's magnificent church issued a letter, declaring that Arius and his friends had been received to

* They were subsequently forced to accept an Arian creed.

† Part of the extract given by Athanasius:

"Thus there is a Three, not in equal glories.
Not intermingling with each other are their subsistences.
One more glorious than the other in their glories unto immensity.
Foreign from the Son in substance is the Father, for he is unoriginate.
Understand that the One was; but the Two was not before it was in existence.
It follows at once that, though the Son was not, the Father was God."

communion. Subsequently eleven Arian and semi-Arian creeds were published, as follows: 1. A short Eusebian creed, promulgated by the Council of Antioch, A. D. 342. 2. A fuller semi-Arian creed by the same council, known as the Formulary of the Dedication. 3. A confession presented by Theophronius of Tyana and accepted by this council. 4. A negative confession prepared a few months later by these Antiochian bishops and sent into Gaul to the Emperor Constans. 5. Three years later the elaborate semi-Arian Macrostich creed was prepared and sent into Italy. 6. The first Sirmian creed, A. D. 351. It was semi-Arian, the confession being the same as in the last two creeds, the difference being in the anathemas. 7. The second Sirmian, A. D. 357. It was Arian, and was the one which Hosius was tortured into signing. 8. A third Sirmian creed, bearing the date of the consulate, was suppressed by an edict of the emperor, at the suggestion of its authors. 9. The Arian creed offered by the Acasians to the Council of Seleucia, A. D. 359, and rejected in favor of a semi-Arian position. 10. The Arian creed imposed upon the council at Ariminum. 11. An extreme Arian confession made at Antioch, A. D. 361, in which it is said that "the Son is altogether unlike the Father."

The semi-Arians are not to be regarded by the Catholics as enemies but as brothers. They rightly allege that the council against the Samosatene rejected the term "one in substance." We can say that the older authorities employed it; but the term as used and as rejected had different meanings. The allowable one was affirmed by the Nicene Council. We would have these blessed men, who are truly religious, and ourselves to be at one. They with us recognize the many Scripture titles giving the Son unity with the Father. Yet we must take care lest, giving these [divine] properties to a

foreign substance, we make two Gods. Pray then that, the Arian heresy being done away, there may be in the Church "one Lord, one faith, one baptism."

EPISTLE IN DEFENSE OF THE NICENE DEFINITIONS.

The Eusebians, having in the council been convicted of error, accepted the definition, and Eusebius of Cæsarea wrote to his people of his acceptance. They are now committing a crime who gainsay the decree of an œcumenical council. Sonship has two meanings: 1, Sonship by adoption, or attained through merit; and, 2, Substantial sonship. The second is the Catholic definition; the divine generation, however, being not material but spiritual. The very Scripture names of the Son—Word, Wisdom, Power, etc.—imply his divinity. The Arian expressions, "out of nothing," "once he was not," etc., are not, on the other hand, to be found in Scripture. To prevent misunderstanding, the fathers in the council insisted upon the expression "from the substance of the Father," instead of the Eusebian "from the Father." They also introduced "one in substance" instead of "like," in order to negative all such terms as "created," "alterable," etc. But every corporeal thought is to be banished from this subject.

In support of the definition of the council, Theognostus, a disciple of Origen, used the phrase "of the substance"; Dionysius of Alexandria affirmed that the Son was "one in substance" with God; Dionysius of Rome declared that, as opposed alike to Sabellius and to the existence of three foreign substances, a Trinity was preached by the Scriptures but not three Gods. Nor must our Lord be called a "work" as being created; Origen, "the labor-loving man," established "the everlasting co-

existence of the Word with the Father, and that he is not of another substance or subsistence but proper to the Father." In the face of these the Arians can cite no father of understanding and wisdom. The Arian term "ingenerate," borrowed from the Greek, should give place to the Scripture term "Father," since baptism is in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

ORATIONS AGAINST THE ARIANS.

Discourse I.

Arians, though affecting the use of the Scriptures, are not Christians, but Ario-maniacs, since they take the name of another founder than Christ, and follow the dissolute metres of the "Thalia"* rather than Scripture. Since some are misled by Arian statements,[1] I will put some questions. The points at issue are shown in the counter-statement of our faith.[2]

To the assertion, "There was once when he was not," we reply: 1. The Scriptures make the Son co-eternal with the Father (John i, 1, etc.). The Arian phrases, "he was not," "before," are used by Scripture as appertaining to creatures, but are alien to the Word. 2. As being proper Son of God, he is eternal; for God was never imperfect nor unlike himself; yet saying "once the Son was not," they rob God of his Word, the Light of its Radiance, i. e., make him unlike himself. But they say that the Son is not of the substance of the Father but "from nothing" and "Son by participation" Participation of what? we ask. Surely of nothing ex-

* In this "Thalia," his chief work, Arius thus refers to himself:

"Along their track have I walked with like opinions,
I, the very famous, the much suffering for God's glory;
And taught of God, I have acquired wisdom and knowledge."

ternal to the Father, else he would not even be second to him, but of his substance. So, being proper Son, he is eternal. 3. As Creator, the Son is not of a foreign substance, but consubstantial and eternal; also as one of the Trinity, which never began to be; and as Wisdom, for God is evermore the Fountain of wisdom; and as the Word through whom are all things, for as such he is not one of the all; and again as the Image of the Father.

The popular Arian arguments are as follows: "He who is, did he make him who was not from him who is, or him who was? Therefore, did he make the Son whereas he was, or whereas he was not?" And again, "Is the Ingenerate one or two?" and, "Has he free-will, and yet does not alter at his own choice as being of an alterable nature? for he is not as a stone to remain by himself unmovable." Next they turn to women and address them in turn in this womanish language: "Hadst thou a son before bearing? now, as thou hadst not, neither was the Son of God before his generation." We answer to the first, An architect can not build without materials, but God can; and so he begets not as man but as God. Again, the question is irrelevant, since both "what is" becomes, as in the case of man made from the earth, and "what is not" becomes, as in the case of the earth from which man was made. Their talk is thus only sophism. But we ask a counter-question to show their absurdities, viz., "God who is, has he so become whereas he was not, or is he also before his generation? whereas he is, did he make himself, or is he of nothing, and being nothing before did he suddenly appear himself?" Such an inquiry is indecent, yea indecent and very blasphemous, yet parallel with theirs; for the answer they make abounds in irreligion. But, if it be blasphemous and utterly irreligious thus to

inquire about God, it will be blasphemous too to make the like inquiries about his Word. The true answer is, that whereas God is he was eternally; since then the Father is ever, his radiance ever is, which is his Word. In answer to the second sophism we inquire, If the "time" idea in generation is recognized, why not also the proper likeness, i. e., that a son is from one's own self, not from without as a boughten slave? And what is to hinder God from being always Father? Again, let them inquire of the sun concerning its radiance. If they coexist, so do the Son and the Father. The divine generation is not as that of man, nor must the Son be thought a part of God. Uniting the two titles Son and Word, "Scripture speaks of 'Son,' in order to herald the offspring of his (God's) substance natural and true; and on the other hand that none may think of the offspring humanly, while signifying his substance it also calls him Word, Wisdom, and Radiance, to teach us that the generation was impassible and eternal and worthy of God." To our assertion that God was always a Father, men object, "Then always a Creator, and the world is eternal." But no, for a work is external to the nature of the worker, but a son is of the substance of his father; a man may be called a maker, though his work do not yet exist, but he is not a father without a son.

The Arian question "Is the Ingenerate one or two?" is not asked for the honor of the Father, but for the dishonor of the Son. "Ingenerate" has various meanings, and so must be defined. If one means by it "what is not made, but is ever," we say that the Son is ingenerate as the Father. If "existing but not generated nor having a father," the term belongs to the Father alone. Nothing, however, is to be made of this. The right use of the word ingenerate is as a correlative to *things*

created or generated; whereas the correlative to *son* is father. The more pious usage, therefore, is to call God Father, just in proportion as the Word surpasses things created. We are not taught to pray "O God Ingenerate," but "Our Father who art in heaven." We are not baptized into the Ingenerate, but into Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. In the question about the free-will of the Son they simply trifle. The antithesis which they make is not a true one. He has free-will, but he is not alterable, since he is the Image of the Father. Witness the Scripture, "They shall perish, but thou remainest; they shall be changed, but thou art the same."

The remainder of Oration I is devoted to the true interpretation of three texts cited by Arius to prove the Son alterable, viz., Phil. ii, 9, 10. Here "exalted" refers to his human nature, just as he was "humbled" in the incarnation. Psalm xlv, 7, 8. The "anointed" is the man Christ Jesus, become such for us. Hebrews i, 4: "Better" does not compare, but contrasts, as different in nature. "Being made" is not spoken of the substance of the Son, but refers to the incarnation.

Discourse II.

The argument in this discourse and the next is to show that the Son, the Word, is not a work or creature, as is urged by the Arians from various passages of Scripture which are here expounded, viz., Hebrews iii, 2. This is only a verbal objection. The question is, Is the Lord Son, Word, Wisdom? This decided, "made" has the meaning "begat." He was made in becoming man, not as the Word. Acts ii, 36: i. e., manifested him to us. Prov. viii, 22. As introductory to this passage, it is shown that God could not have created the Word

as a medium of creation; else there must be an endless series of media. The Father operates in the Word, but through his creatures. The text refers to the Word becoming flesh for the work of redeeming men from sin.[3] "He founded me before the worlds" in the context refers to the eternally proposed mediatorship of Christ.

Discourse III.

Here are expounded John xiv, 10; xvii, 3, 11; iii, 35; xii, 27; Matt. xxviii, 18; xxvi, 39; Mark xiii, 32; Luke ii, 52. The rule of faith is said to be easily determined, "if we now consider the drift of that faith which we Christians hold, and, using it as a rule, apply ourselves as the Apostle teaches to the reading of inspired Scripture." Returning, then, to Arian objections, it is replied, to the assertion that the Son exists by the will of the Father, that then there must be another Word before him. Rather, the Son exists by nature. He is the will, not by the will of the Father.

Discourse IV.

The Father and Son are two, yet the unity of the Godhead is indivisible, and we preserve one origin; whence there is a divine monarchy. And there is one substance, the Word being substantive, not a sound. The Word also is from God. Since, now, that which is from another can not be that which it is, the Father and Son must be two. And they are one because the Son is not from without, but begotten of God; they are one through their consubstantiality.[4] Sabellians fell into the same error with the Arians in saying that the Son was developed—not created—that God through him might create us. This involves the prior inactivity, and so the imperfection, of God. The theory of dilata-

tion, by which one becomes three, implies passibility in God, the cause being either the creation or the incarnation. If the former, it involves the cessation of creation; if the latter, the Father became flesh.

The Word being from the Father, surely he is the Son. This is proved by Scripture appellations of the Word and the Son. The Son is not the man whom the Word bore, since the Son made the worlds. Nor is the Word and the man the Son, since the Son was before the flesh. Nor, again, is the Son the Word become man. The Old Testament as well as the New names the Son. The Sabellian view leads to the destroying of the grace of baptism and to the annihilation of creation; 1 John i, and Psalm cx, 3, prove that the Son had no beginning of being. Therefore, God the Word himself is Christ from Mary, God and man . . . seen, I say, not in his invisible Godhead, but in the operation of the Godhead through the human body and whole man, which he has renewed by appropriation to himself. To him be the adoration and the worship, who was before and ever shall be, even to all ages. *Amen.*

EXTRACTS FROM ORATIONS.

1. "And the mockeries which he prates in it, repulsive and most impious, are such as these: 'God was not always a Father, but there was when God was alone and not yet a Father, and afterward he became a Father. The Son was not always, for, all things being made out of nothing, and all existing creatures and works being made, even the Word of God himself was made out of nothing, and there was when he was not; and he was not before his generation, but he too had a beginning of creation. For God,' he says, 'was alone, and the Word as yet was not nor the Wisdom. Then, wishing to form us, he thereupon made a certain one, and named

him Word and Wisdom and Son, that through him he might form us. Accordingly,' he says, 'there are two wisdoms; first, that which is truly co-existent with God, but in this Wisdom the Son was generated, and simply as partaking of it was named Wisdom and Word. For Wisdom,' he says, 'by the will of the wise God began to be in Wisdom.' So, also, he says that there is another Word in God besides the Son, and the Son, again, as having part in it, is himself by grace called Word and Son. And this, too, is an idea belonging to their heresy, as shown in other works of theirs: that there are many powers, one of which is God's own by nature and eternal; but that Christ, on the other hand, is not the true power of God, but he too is one of the so-called powers, one of which, 'the locust and the caterpillar,' is called not only the 'power' but the 'great' power. The others are many, and like the Son, of whom David sings, saying, The Lord of power [or of hosts]. And by nature, like all, so too the Word is alterable, and by his own will, so long as he chooses, remains good; when, however, he will, he too like us can alter, being of an alterable nature. 'For God, on this account,' he says, 'as foreknowing that he would be good, in anticipation, bestowed upon him this glory which afterward as a man he possessed from virtue. Thus from his works which he foreknew, God caused that he being such should come to be.'"—*Orat. I, sec.* 5.

2. "For behold we speak freely from the divine Scriptures concerning the religious faith, and set it up as a candle upon a candlestick, saying, 'He is very Son of the Father, natural and genuine, proper to his substance; Wisdom only-begotten, and very and only Word of God is he; he is not creature nor work, but proper offspring of the substance of the Father. Wherefore he is my God, being one in substance with the very Father. But others, to

whom he said, 'I said, Ye are gods,' had this grace from the Father only by participation of the Word through the Spirit. For he is the impress of the Father's essence, and light from light, and power, and very image of the Father's substance. For this again the Lord said, 'He that hath seen me hath seen the Father.' And he ever was and is, and never was not. For the Father being everlasting, everlasting must be his Word and Wisdom.' "—*Orat. I, sec. 9.*

3. "Besides, the good reason of what was done is apparent thus: If [God] had spoken in his power, and the curse had been dissolved, the power of him who commanded would have been shown, but man would have become like Adam before the transgression, receiving grace from without, and not having it united to the body—for he was such when he was placed in Paradise—and even perhaps would have become worse, because he had learned to transgress. Being then such a one, if he had been seduced by the serpent there would again have been need that God give command and break the curse; and thus the need would have been interminable, and men would have remained not less guilty, as being enslaved by sin; and, ever sinning, they would ever have needed one to pardon, and would never have become free, being of themselves flesh, and always overcome by the law on account of the infirmity of the flesh."—*Orat. II, sec. 68.*

4. "'I and the Father are one.' Two are one, you say, either as one has two names, or as one is divided into two. If, now, the one is divided into two, of necessity what is divided is a body, and neither is perfect, for each is a part and not a whole. But, if one have two names, this is the explanation of Sabellius, who said that the Father and the Son are the same, and denied each, the Father when the Son [was confessed] and the Son when the

Fatner. If the two are one, necessarily, while there are two, there is one according to the godhead and according to the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, and the Word being from the Father himself; thus there are two because there is Father and Son that is the Word, but one because there is one God."—*Orat. IV, sec.* 9.

LETTER UPON THE BOOK OF PSALMS.

This letter to Marcellinus observes that the Psalms have a peculiar character and grace, in that there is no one who may not in them find himself with his various passions and changeable will, together with the means of calming the first and fixing the second. The other Scripture books teach us to do good and shun evil, or of the coming of the Saviour, or about the lives of kings and holy men. While not lacking in these particulars, the Psalms acquaint us with ourselves, and teach us to contend with our spiritual maladies. We have been taught to be penitent, to submit to adversities, to be thankful to God; here we are taught how to practice these graces. We have had the examples of others cited to us that we may emulate them; here we are taught how to identify these with ourselves. When on earth, Jesus Christ gave us, in his own virtues, the most admirable example to follow; but before his advent he had given us the Psalms as the most perfect code of the virtues which we should practice. Being prophetic, historic, moral, and devotional (as is shown by the author's classification), they are suited to all the varying circumstances and wants of life. "This book alone suffices for all the needs of the heart; . . . whether one desires to give himself up to the emotions of contrition and penitence, or is tried by temptation or by adversity, as the object of enmity, or delivered from some peril, in sor-

row or in joy, the Psalms furnish to the soul that which strengthens or consoles; they afford in abundance expressions of praise, of gratitude, of blessing toward the Lord; and the language of the prophet becomes one's own.

"Take heed not to add to the words of the Psalms the pomp of strange ornament, as if they needed the artifices of eloquence. It is permitted neither to transpose the expression nor to alter the text. They should be recited and sung as they are written, in order that the holy persons who have transmitted them to us as simple depositaries, recognizing their own language, may pray with us; that, above all, the Holy Spirit, who has spoken by their mouth, finding again the same words which he communicated to them by his divine inspiration, may accord to us, as to them, his all-powerful aid."

LIFE OF ANTHONY.

Anthony had commended himself to Athanasius by a visit to Alexandria to oppose the Arians when upward of a hundred years old; and the monks of the desert had been the patriarch's stanchest friends in his fugitive days. This panegyric, therefore, solicited from Athanasius by monks outside of Egypt, was written with the most entire sympathy with the man and with his order. It is rather, says Eugene Fialon, a poem of Saint Anthony than a life. "It is, in fact, less the life and the eulogy of a man than an ideal picture of a great institution." The work is of value to us as exhibiting the literalness of Athanasius's conception of Anthony's temptations. Our author was certainly not lacking in sound judgment nor devoid of the critical faculty, yet the supernatural appearances of demons and their violence toward the holy father of the monks seem not incredible to him.

A few sayings of Anthony's might well be popularly known. "Do not wonder," said he to his monks, "that an emperor writes to us; he is only a man. Be astonished rather that God has written his law for men and has spoken to us by the mouth of his own Son." "My book," said he, "is nature; it presents itself to me whenever I wish to read the discourses of God."

THE FESTAL EPISTLES.

The Council of Nice decreed that the custom of celebrating Easter upon Sunday, which prevailed in the "western, southern, and northern parts of the world," should be the usage of the whole Church; but it fixed upon no paschal cycle. The determination of Easter was thus practically (if not, as Leo says, by express order of the council) left to the church at Alexandria, in which city astronomical science was cultivated as nowhere else. Throughout his episcopate, therefore, Athanasius, with the exception of certain years when he could not communicate with his church, wrote an annual letter announcing to his diocese the date of the festival and enjoining its proper observance. A considerable part of thirty-nine such letters is preserved in a Syriac translation brought to light in recent times. Two extracts are subjoined, the latter as testifying to the canon of that day.

EXTRACTS.

"We begin the fast of forty days on the sixth day of Phamenoth; and having passed through that properly, with fasting and prayers, we may be able to attain to the holy day. For he who regards lightly the fast of forty days, as one who rashly and impurely treadeth on holy things, can not celebrate the Easter festival. Further, let us put one another

in remembrance, and stimulate one another not to be negligent, and especially that we should fast those days; so that fasts may receive us in succession and we may duly bring the feast to a close. The fast of forty days begins, then, as was before said, on the sixth of Phamenoth (March 2); and the great week of the passion on the eleventh of Pharmuthi (April 6). And let us rest from the fast on the sixteenth of it (April 11), on the seventh day, late in the evening. Let us keep the feast when the first of the week rises upon us, on the seventeenth of the month Pharmuthi (April 12). Let us then add, one after the other, the seven holy weeks of Pentecost, rejoicing and praising God, that he hath by these things made known to us beforehand joy and rest everlasting, prepared in heaven for those of us who truly believe in Christ Jesus our Lord; through whom and with whom be glory and dominion to the Father, with the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen."—*From Letter xix for* A. D. 347.

Having enumerated as canonical the now commonly received Old Testament books, with the exception of Esther and the addition of Baruch, and all of the now received books of the New Testament, the author adds: "These are the fountains of salvation, that he who thirsteth may be satisfied with the words they contain. In these alone is proclaimed the doctrine of godliness. Let no man add to them, neither let him take aught from them. For on this point the Lord put to shame the Sadducees, saying, Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures. And he reproved the Jews, saying, Search the Scriptures, for they testify of me.

But for greater exactness, I add this also, considering it necessary so to write: that there are other books besides these, not indeed included in the canon, but appointed by the fathers to be read

by those who are come of late, wishing for admonition and instruction in godliness. The Wisdom of Solomon, and the Wisdom of Sirach, and Esther, and Judith, and Tobit, and that which is called the Doctrine of the Apostles, and the Shepherd. But the former, my brethren, are included in the canon, the latter being [merely] read; nor is there any mention of apocryphal writings. But this is an invention of heretics, writing them to favor their own views, bestowing upon them their approbation, and assigning to them a date, and producing them as ancient writings, that thereby they might find occasion to lead astray the simple."—*From Letter* xxxix *for* A. D. 367.

List of Athanasius's Most Important Works now extant.

APOLOGETIC —"Against the Gentiles," and "On the Incarnation." HISTORICAL—The works given in the text under "Historical Tracts"; and the "Defense of the Nicene Definition." DOGMATICAL and CONTROVERSIAL —"Orations against the Arians," the "Expositio fidei," four "Epistles to Serapion" on the Son and the Holy Ghost, and "On the Incarnation" against Apollinaris. SCRIPTURAL—"Exposition of the Psalms" and "On the Titles of the Psalms." PRACTICAL—The "Festal Epistles," and "Life of Anthony."

ARIUS.

NEITHER the extent nor the importance of this author's writings would entitle him to a prominent place among the great ecclesiastical writers. His name, however, is so associated with the literature of the great church controversy, that we can not understand that literature without recognizing his work. He was a presbyter in the church at Alex-

andria, and first attracted notice by an attack upon his bishop, Alexander, on the subject of the Trinity. The outcome of the resulting controversy was the Council of Nice and its doctrinal definition. After this council Arius was banished to Illyrium and his writings were publicly burned. In a few years, however, he was recalled, and through the influence of Eusebius, who persuaded Constantine that he differed from the churchmen only in the words which he used, he was received with favor at court. An earnest effort was also made to restore him to standing in the church, but it was defeated by Arius's sudden death (see page 41). He was a man of eloquence, and the purity of his moral character was unquestioned. His chief work was his "Thalia," a theological writing in prose and verse. He also wrote popular songs teaching his peculiar views.

CYRIL OF JERUSALEM.

THE orthodox Arian! No better phrase could perhaps be chosen to define Cyril's position among the rationalizing believers of his day. He was born early in the fourth century, and his younger life was passed in Jerusalem. He was made bishop A. D. 350, having previously officiated as a priest at Jerusalem, and having there delivered the Catechetical Lectures which constitute his title to remembrance as an author. There was much controversy over Cyril's true position in the Church. One of his consecrators had been Acacius, Bishop of Cæsarea, leader of the extreme party among the Arians; and

it was charged by Cyril's enemies that he obtained his see as the price of his concessions to the Arians, who at the death of his predecessor had seized upon the church at Jerusalem. Moreover, Cyril's party at first repudiated the action of the Council of Sardica, as did the Arians. On the other hand, the Second General Council declared his consecration canonical, while his lectures were so nearly in accord with the received orthodox opinions that no one not acquainted with the nice points of distinction would suspect that he differed from the majority of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan confessors. Being one of those men who, in times of heated controversy, have the (for themselves) unhappy faculty of seeing truth on both sides, he was persecuted by the Arians as too orthodox, and branded by the orthodox as Arianizing. His real position was among the conservative and religious members of the semi-Arian party with whom even Athanasius was willing, in his later life, to commune, and whom he acknowledged as "most holy men," differing from the orthodox only in the choice of a word. His experience was like that of Athanasius in being repeatedly driven from his see by the Arians. He sat as a lawful bishop in the Council of Constantinople, which commended him as "most reverend and religious," and as "a withstander of the Arians." He died A. D. 386. His only extant writings of any moment are the Catechetical Lectures. Unlike many of the ancient works on theology, they are by no means antiquated, and, barring some few crudities due to the writer's age, might profitably be read to-day as a text-book upon Christian doc-

trines. The appended lectures on the Mysteries are of considerable value as registering the development of the church ritual in the middle of the fourth century.

CATECHETICAL LECTURES.

Introductory Address to the Candidates for Baptism.

Honesty of purpose alone will make you called; without this your bodily presence and baptism will be nothing. Simon Magus was baptized, but he was not enlightened. You may have come here because you are paying court to some one; still, having come, do you remain for a better end. Prepare as for thy wedding. Attend diligently to the catechisings, for they will be thy armor. Baptism is ransom and remission, the death of sin. Beware ye of unbelief.

Lecture I. The Purpose of Mind necessary.

You are to beware of hypocrisy; to abandon the world; to forgive all. Though remission of sin may come to all in baptism, the communion of the Holy Spirit will be according to your faith.

II. The Power of Repentance.

Sin, being a self-chosen evil, though fearful, is not incurable. Not nature alone, but also the devil, once an archangel, prompts to sin. But the lost may be saved through the blood of Him who died for us. Even multiplied sins find forgiveness upon repentance, as is shown in God's mercy to Adam, Rahab, David, Nebuchadnezzar, Peter, and others. Do you then heartily confess your sins.

III. Holy Baptism.

Baptism is an occasion of joy and of solemnity. For baptism, both by water and by the Spirit, is

necessary, that even the virtuous may enter heaven. Dead in sin thou goest down into the water; quickened in righteousness thou comest up. Thou art then equipped to wrestle, being purified, and having received the Holy Ghost.

IV. Ten Points of Faith.

1. There is one only God the Father. 2. Like to him in all things, not separate from or confused with him, is Christ; from everlasting God's Wisdom, and Power, and Righteousness, the Artificer of all things. 3. Who was truly made flesh, and was man and God; was truly crucified and buried; and who rose the third day, and ascended into heaven. 4. He will come again in glory. 5. Co-ordinate with Father and Son is the Holy Ghost. 6. Thou art thyself soul and body, and thy soul is free and immortal. 7. Thy body, as thy soul, is from God, and is to be kept pure. 8. All shall rise from the dead; the just to praise God eternally, the wicked to suffer everlasting torment. 9. The Lord has given to us the laver of regeneration. 10. All these things are taught in the Divine Scriptures, composed of the Old and the New Testaments.

V. Faith.

Great dignity is now conferred upon you in your promotion among the faithful. Faith is not peculiar to Christians, but is exercised by all who accomplish important ends. Faith is of two kinds: 1. An acquiescence in God's message; this will save the believer. 2. A special gift, by which we may accomplish great works. Cherish thou the first, that Christ may bestow upon thee the second.

VI. God the One Principle.

In place of the one God, heathens and heretics have recognized two principles, one of good and

one of evil; have distinguished between the good God and the just God; and have otherwise degraded the divine idea. But fold thou with the sheep.

VII. God the Father.

God is eternally and by nature the Father of the Only-Begotten. Though allowing us men to call him "our Father," he is such only through our adoption.

VIII. God's Sovereignty.

God is truly Almighty. It is only by sufferance that the devil has power against the good.

IX. God the Creator.

God the Artificer, the Contriver, is to be seen by us in all his wonderful works.

X. Our Lord Jesus Christ.

That Christ was Lord with the Father before his incarnation is proved by the Old Testament. He was called Jesus because he saves; Christ because of his priesthood. The "new name" of the prophet is "Christian."

XI. The Only-Begotten eternally, the Creator.

Christ is the Son of God in the true sense, that is by nature, and not by adoption, like men. His generation was apart from all time. He is very God,[1] not foreign to the Father, not separated from him or confused with him. He did not begin to be at Bethlehem, but he is eternally. He is the sovereign Creator by the will of the Father.

XII. The Incarnation.

The wound of man's nature through sin was sore, and God sent his Son to be our physician.

He came in the flesh because we could not endure the sight of God. All the prophetic signs were fulfilled in him, including those of time, place, and virgin mother.

XIII. The Crucifixion and Burial.

Christ was crucified, being himself sinless—the Lamb of God taking away the sin of the world—and was laid in the tomb, all of which was before prophesied. The cross, then, is the foundation of our faith. The very sign of the cross now has mighty power.

XIV. The Resurrection, Ascension, and Exaltation.

The resurrection of the Lord the third day was in accordance with the Scripture, which had foretold its time and place.[2] While in Hades he had redeemed the just.[3] Of the resurrection there are many witnesses.

The ascension and the exaltation at the right hand of God were also matters of prophecy.

XV. Second Coming, Judgment, and Reign of Christ.

Our Lord will come in glory at the end of the world, and will gather all nations to judgment. Many signs must precede—divisions, antichrist, etc., some of which have appeared; and I am fearful we should be watching. Prepare ye for the terrible judgment by good works. The reign of Christ thus begun shall be without end, despite all questionings.

XVI. The Holy Ghost.

As there is one only God the Father, and one only-begotten Son and Word of God, so there is one only Holy Ghost the Comforter, a living, intelligent Being, of a divine and unsearchable nature,

the sanctifying principle of all things made by God through Christ. "Our hope is in the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost. We preach not three Gods—let the Marcionites be mute—but we preach one God, by one Son, with the Holy Ghost. The faith is indivisible; religious worship is undistracted. We neither divide the Holy Trinity like some, nor do we, as Sabellians, introduce confusion. But we know, according to godliness, one Father, who sent his Son to be our Saviour; we know one Son, who promised that he would send the Comforter from the Father; we know the Holy Ghost, who spoke in the prophets, and who on the day of Pentecost descended on the Apostles in the form of fiery tongues here in Jerusalem, in the Upper Church of the Apostles." The Holy Ghost is the suggester of all good, the teacher of the church, the comforter of believers. Before the day of Pentecost the Spirit was only partially bestowed—on prophets, judges, etc., as on Daniel.

XVII. The Holy Ghost in the New Testament.

The Holy Ghost possesses, and invests, and infuses the souls of believers, being the personal, hallowing power in them of understanding. He is present in baptism, but only if thou come sincerely.

XVIII. The Resurrection and the Holy Catholic Church.

The doctrine of the resurrection is the spring of hope to the church. To all objections thereto we allege God's power, and also cite the analogies of the springing grain, the phœnix, etc., as well as the examples of rising from the dead found in Scriptures.

We say Catholic because the Church is throughout the whole world, teaching everywhere one doctrine, and all the doctrines; and because it subju-

gates all classes of men. We say Church, as assembling men together. We call it Holy, as distinguished from all wicked assemblies. This Church of God, which once furnished martyrs, now extends its sovereignty throughout the whole world. Trained in the Church, we shall attain unto life everlasting. *Amen.*

ON THE MYSTERIES.

Subsequent to the baptism of the candidates to whom the above lectures were given, Cyril delivered to them five lectures "On the Mysteries," in which he explains the rites by which they have been admitted to fellowship in the church. He dwells particularly upon the rites of the renunciation of Satan and his works, of anointing with oil, of baptism, of anointing with the holy chrism, and of partaking of the body and blood of Christ. Of the communion service he traces the several steps: the symbolical washing of hands; the kiss of peace; the several summonses of the priest and responses of the people; the prayers, among them the prayers for the dead,[4] and the Lord's Prayer, upon the several petitions of which he comments; the chant, "O taste and see that the Lord is good"; the partaking of the bread and of the wine; and the final prayer and thanksgiving.

[4] The first eighteen lectures were given in the Basilica of the Holy Cross erected by Constantine; the last five in the church upon the site of the Holy Sepulchre.

EXTRACTS.

1. "The Son, therefore, is truly God, having the Father in himself, not changed into the Father; for the Father was not incarnate, but the Son. For let the truth be spoken freely. The Father did not suffer for us; but the Father sent Him who should suffer for us. Nor let us say there was once when

the Son was not; nor allow that the Son is the Father; but let us walk in the royal road, swerving neither to the right nor the left. Let us not, with the thought of honoring the Son, call him Father; nor, with the idea of honoring the Father, call the Son one of the creatures. But let the one Father, through the one Son, be worshiped, and let not the worship be separated. Let the one Son be proclaimed, sitting at the right hand of the Father, before the ages: not possessing this seat in time after the passion, as received by promotion; but eternally."—Cat. xi, 6.

2. "And from whence did the Saviour rise? He says in the Song of Songs, 'Rise up, my love, and come away'; and afterward, 'in the cleft of the rock.' The 'cleft of the rock' is what he calls the cleft which was at the door of the sepulchre, and out of the rock itself, as is the custom here with rock-hewn sepulchres. Now, indeed, it does not appear, because the entrance was cut away on account of the present adornment. For, before this decoration of the sepulchre through royal zeal, there was a cleft in the front of the rock. But where is the rock which had the cleft? does it lie in the midst of the city, or near the walls and the outskirts? Or is it inside the ancient walls, or the outer walls built afterward? He says in the Songs, 'In the cleft of the rock near the outer wall.'"—Cat. xiv, 4.

3. "Death was terror-struck seeing a new visitant descending into hell, not bound with the chains thereof. Wherefore, O keepers of the gates of hell, were you terrified, seeing him? What unbounded fear seized upon you? Death fled, and the flight betrayed his cowardice. The holy prophets ran to him, Moses the legislator, and Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, David, and Samuel, and Isaiah, and John the Baptist, who spoke and bore witness, 'Art

Thou he that should come, or do we look for another?' All the holy whom death had devoured were redeemed. For it was fitting that the King who had been heralded should be the redeemer of his noble heralds. Then each of the just said: 'O death, where is thy victory? O grave, where is thy sting? For the Conqueror hath redeemed us.'"—Cat. xiv, 10.

4. "Then we commemorate those who have slept before us, first patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, that God, on account of their prayers and interventions, may hear our petition. Then for the holy fathers and bishops who have fallen asleep before us, and for all who in time past have slept among us we pray, believing that it will be of the greatest advantage to the souls for whom prayer is offered, while the holy and awful sacrifice is presented.

"And I would persuade you by an illustration. I know that many say, 'What is a soul profited which has departed from this world, either with or without sins, if it be commemorated in prayer?' Now, if a king should send into exile certain who had offended him, and afterward their friends weaving a crown should offer it in behalf of those banished, would he not grant a reprieve to those punished? In the same manner also we, offering prayers to Him for those who have slept, although they be sinners, do not indeed weave a crown, but offer up Christ, sacrificed for our sin, propitiating Him who is merciful both toward them and ourselves" (Mys. v, 6, 7). Compare, however, the following: "And if it be said, 'The dead do not praise Thee, O Lord,' this indicates that, repentance and forgiveness having their appointed time in this life only, for which they who enjoy the privilege 'praise Thee' [the Lord], after death it no longer remains to those who are in sin to give praise as the receiv-

ers of blessings, but to bewail. For praise is theirs who give thanks; but to those who are under the lash is lamentation. Therefore the just shall then give praise; but those who have died in sin have no season left for confession."—Cat. xviii, 7.

EPHRAEM SYRUS,

THE Syriac preacher in song. It is doubtful whether he could even speak Greek, yet he deserves an honorable place among the Greek fathers, as having had his works translated into Greek during his lifetime, and as being so revered throughout the entire East that his books were read in many of the churches after the Scriptures. He was a deacon of the church at Edessa, was born in the reign of Diocletian, and died A. D. 373. He lived ascetically in the retirement of a cell, though he constantly came forth to preach. Once only he broke away from this quiet life and made a long journey to visit Basil at Cæsarea. The Oriental poet is seen in his meeting with this bishop. He had arrived in Basil's church while the latter was preaching. After the sermon Basil met him and asked if he were not "that servant of Jesus Christ, Ephraem." "I am that Ephraim, very far from the way of heaven," said he. Then bursting into tears, and raising his voice, he cried, "O my Father, have pity on a miserable sinner and deign to lead him into the true way!" Basil, embracing him, asked why he had thus praised him with a loud voice. "Because," said Ephraem, "I saw over your right shoulder a dove of spotless white, which seemed to be suggest-

ing to you what you were saying to the people." Ephraem's is the chief name connected with the somewhat abundant literature of the Syrian Church. These writings are for the most part in metrical form. Ephraem, noting the influence which the Gnostic Bardesanes had exercised over the people, by putting his doctrine into hymns and odes, sought to give currency to the truth by the same means. "The blessed Ephraem," says his biographer, "seeing that all men were led by music, rose up and opposed the profane games and noisy dances of the young people, and established the 'daughters of the convent,' and taught them odes, and scales, and responses, and conveyed in the odes intelligent sentiments in a sententious form, and things of spiritual wisdom." He not only composed and taught such odes and hymns, but he wrote and preached his homilies in a metrical form, not unlike that of the Old Testament prophecies. His work was prolific. Besides commentaries on much of the Bible, written in prose, we have of his some two hundred metrical discourses, as well as numerous hymns and briefer homilies.

The following selections from these works were translated from the Syriac of the Vatican edition by the Rev. J. B. Morris and the Rev. Henry Burgess, who have given considerable portions of the hymns and homilies to English readers. The first, "On speaking of the Divine Mysteries," is from one of eighty-six homilies *Against Captious Questioners;* the second, from one of three homilies of a similar character *Concerning the Faith.* "The Repentance of Nineveh," in reality an epic poem, appears in the

Syriac works as one of a collection of eleven discourses on separate texts of Scripture, all of which were doubtless delivered by the author. "On the Death of Children" is from a collection of eighty-five *Canones Funebres*, or pieces relating to death. The "Prayer" is one of seventy-six hymns or brief homilies known as the *Parenetica* or *Exhortations to Penitence*. Among the most beautiful of Ephraem's compositions are seven homilies forming a complete work known as *The Pearl*. In addition to the above may be noted thirteen discourses *On the Birth of Christ* and fifty-six discourses *Against Heresies*.

AD CLERUM: ON SPEAKING OF THE DIVINE MYSTERIES.

Speak on, harp, for silence is thine enemy; speak thou whatsoever is to be spoken, for whatsoever we have no right to speak, if it be spoken to the righteous it will be blasphemy. Unto the unbelievers is he nigh akin that dares to pry; on the very edge of death the rash standeth, in that he hath left the faith in his disputation to go down and search into the ocean of hidden things.

. . . Set thy soul then in tune, and sing without discord. Purify thy strains and sing unto us, but not of hidden things. Be a disciple to all the things revealed, speak fair things which are free of danger; weigh out, then, thy words, sounds which may not be blamed; weigh also and sing strains that can not be reproved, and let thy song be, my son, comfort to the servants of thy Lord, and then shall thy Lord reward thee.

Do not, therefore, sing things hurtful to mankind, neither divide, by thy disputation, brethren at

unity together; put not a sword, which this questioning is, among the simple that believe in sincerity. Sing not thou unto God perversely in the stead of praise, lest thou forget and sing iniquity. Sing like David to David's Son, and call him Lord and Son as David did. . . .

Make ye then disciples, and baptize in the three names, that is, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. For the name of the Son could not have come before the name of the Father, that there might not be confusion. But how and why this is so is encompassed in silence. Far off from that silence, without it, be thou speaking of his praise. Let not thy tongue be a bridge for sounds which letteth all words pass across it. Praise do thou send up to Him, as the tithing of thy strains. A wave-sheaf of words offer unto Him from thine imagination, hymns also as first-fruits, and send up clustered hymns thy tongue hath culled.—From Rhythm xxiii, *Against Captious Questioners.*

MAN CAN NOT COMPREHEND THE DUST, MUCH LESS GOD.

Whither wilt thou mount, feeble man? Thou dust that art flung upon dust, let thy conversation be in the dust! Even the dust which is beneath thee is above thee, to search into. If that beneath be too high for thee, how wilt thou attain to Him who is above? If the small dust thy kinsman, from which thou art, is yet hidden from thee, how wilt thou search out the Majesty too high for any to search out?

That dust is in appearance one: it is little and yet great upon searching into it. The dust is one and yet not one, since in its severalty it is manifold. One mean bosom generates tastes that can not be numbered; one little treasury sendeth forth orna-

ments that can not be reckoned. . . . How much can vile dust do which giveth to each of them its increase? To the fruits it giveth their tastes, and with their tastes their colors; to the flowers it giveth their odors, and with their odors their ornaments; flavors it giveth to the fruits, and to the roots aromas; it giveth beauty to the blossoms, the flowers it clothes with adornment. It is the seed's handicraftsman, it bringeth up the wheat in the ears; the stem is strengthened with knots as a building with bond-timbers, that it may sustain and bear up the fruit, and hold out against the winds. . . . If the dust thou tramplest perplexeth thee in thy search into it, how wilt thou search out the Majesty of Him who with contemptible things maketh thee perplexed?—From Homily, *Concerning the Faith.*

THE REPENTANCE OF NINEVEH.

The argument of the earlier part is summarized in the opening lines:

> "The just man Jonah opened his mouth;
> Nineveh listened and was troubled."

For at the preaching of the prophet the city was moved to repentance, the king setting the example to his subjects. We recognize quickly the tender author of the *Canones Funebres* in his description of

> "The gentle wailing of the little ones,"

and the vain efforts of the parents to assume a cheerfulness which they can not feel, Abraham's assurances to Isaac being used as an illustration.

The king, convoking his armies, addresses them:

> "Asshur has roared against the world,
> But the voice of Jonah roars against her.
> Behold! the voice of Nimrod—the mighty one—
> Is altogether brought low."

He urges them, though they can not now conquer in their wonted manner, to take to themselves hidden weapons, prayer and repentance, which will not be spurned by the righteous God. He tells them how he has tried to shake the prophet:

> "I flattered him, but he was not enticed,
> I sought to terrify him, but he trembled not;
> I showed him riches, but he laughed at them,
> A sword also, but he altogether despised it."

And urges—

> "In battles ye have conquered kings,
> Now conquer Satan by prayer."

The people thus repenting, Jonah is filled with wonder, and compares them with the obdurate Israelites. Meantime, through all the forty days, the earth has not ceased to quake, and the signs of their doom have convinced all hearts. The dreaded day comes:

> "Each man grasped the dust,
> And called louder upon God,
> . . . .
> The sackcloth walls shed tears
> . . . . .
> The air itself was affrighted
> And the heaven trembled—
> The cloud and thick darkness enveloped it.
> . . . . . .
> The thunder met its fellows,
> And lightnings pressed on lightnings.
> Each man beheld the earth
> With consternation and commotion of heart,
> For he thought it was near to ruin.
> Each man called to his companion
> That he might see him and be satisfied with his presence;
> That his speech might end with his,
> And they might descend together to the grave."

But evening came, and twilight, and night. "In the morning it would come," they said; but morning came, and

> "At the moment when hope was cut off
> The good news of mercy was afforded."

The earthquake suddenly ceased, and the people knew themselves saved. In their joy they flock forth from the city to Jonah, whom they find brooding in prophetic spirit, and speaking to himself in two persons:

> "That of God and that of the prophet."

Hearing the colloquy about the gourd, the people shout their praises to God. They also seize with affection upon Jonah, whom they bear in triumph into the city. He is loaded with presents, and the king causes him to be conducted back to his own country in royal state.

Jonah will not allow the *cortége* to enter the Hebrew cities, lest the Ninevites see the corruption which there abounds; but they see from the hill-tops the evidences of idolatry and crime, and are filled with horror.

Returning home, they call upon all classes of their countrymen to hymn praises to God for their own deliverance.

Ephraem concludes with a comparison of the repentance of the Ninevites with that of his hearers, which he calls but a shadow, and with the ascription—

> "Blessed be He who loves the righteous,
> Who multiplied penitents in Asshur."

—*Sermones Exegetici.* On Jonah, iii, 2, 3.

ON THE DEATH OF CHILDREN.

Let the little children be pledges with Thee,
And above, in heaven, let them be thy guests;
Let them be intercessors for all of us,
For pure is the prayer of childhood.
  Blessed is He who entertains them in his pavilion.

Our Saviour took children in his arms,
And blessed them before the multitude,
And showed that He loved childhood,
Because it is pure and free from defilement.
  Blessed is He who makes them dwell in his tabernacle.

The Just One saw that iniquity increased on earth,
And that sin had dominion over all men,
And sent his messenger and removed
A multitude of fair little ones,
  And called them to the pavilion of happiness.

Like lilies taken from the wilderness,
Children are planted in paradise;
And like pearls in diadems
Children are inserted in the kingdom,
  And without ceasing shall hymn forth praise.

Who will not rejoice at seeing
Children taken to the heavenly pavilion?
Who will weep for childhood
That has fled from the snares of sin?
  Lord! make me happy with them in thy habitation.

Glory be to Him who hath taken away
The little ones, and made them meet for paradise;
Glory be to Him who hath removed children
And placed them in a garden of pleasure!
  Lo! they are happy there without danger.

—From *Necrosima*, Canon xliii.

A PRAYER IN PROSPECT OF JUDGMENT.

Before my offenses
Are brought against me
At the tribunal of justice,
And cause me to stand
In the presence of the Judge,
With confusion of face—
  Have mercy on me, O Lord, for
  Thou art abundant in mercy.

Before thou shalt close
Thy door against me,
Thou Son of God,
And I become
Food for the fire
Which dieth not in hell—
  Have mercy on me, etc.

Before the wheel of time
Shall run its course
Above the well,
And the pitcher
Of all tribes of men
Be broken at the fountain—
  Have mercy on me, etc.

Before those who have made
A vain profession
Shall cry, "Lord! Lord!"
And Thou answerest them,
"I know you not,
Who ye are"—
  Have mercy on me, etc.

. . . .

Before the voice of the trumpet
Shall shout aloud
To announce thy coming;
O Lord Jesus,

Have pity on thy servants
Who pray earnestly to thee—
Have mercy on me, etc.
—From *Paræsis*, xxxii.

THE PEARL: CONCERNING FAITH.

Once on a time
I took up, my brothers,
A precious pearl;
I saw in it mysteries
Relating to the kingdom;
Images and types
Of the high Majesty.
It became a fountain,
And I drank from it
The mysterious things of the Son.
. . . . .
Men who had put off their clothing
Dived and drew thee forth,
A precious pearl!
It was not kings
Who first presented thee
To the children of men;
But the mystically naked,
Even men who were poor,
And fishermen in occupation,
And natives of Galilee.
For bodies which are clothed
Have not the power
To come near to thee;
But those which are destitute of raiment,
Like little children.
They buried their bodies in the sea,
And descended to thy side.
And thou didst receive them kindly,
And didst intrust thyself to them
Who so much loved thee.
—From Homilies i and v.

MARCELLUS AND THE APOLLINARII.

THESE writers are deserving of special notice as representing phases of thought which leading writers gave some of their best efforts to combating.

Marcellus of Ancyra differed in no appreciable degree from Athanasius as to his faith in the revealed and intuitively-discerned fundamentals of Christianity. When it came to defending them against the Arians, however, Marcellus took distinctively Sabellian grounds. He wrote many volumes, chiefly against the Arians, and was answered, among others, by Eusebius of Cæsarea. Driven from his see by the Arians, he was in exile at the West in company with Athanasius, and shared with this father in the vote of confidence of the Council of Laodicea.

The Apollinarii were father and son, the former a grammarian of Alexandria who, upon becoming a priest at Laodicea, devoted himself so much to profane learning as to awaken the opposition of his bishop. The latter, a man of very great learning, was made bishop of Sardica, and was esteemed highly by Athanasius, Basil, and others among the leaders of the age. Later, however, he fell into certain errors of doctrine as to the Incarnation, and became the founder of a sect which bore his name. He composed many books against heresies and on the Scriptures, as well as many homilies. His principal work was a defense of religion against Porphyry the philosopher. Julian having forbidden the study of the classics by Christians, Apollina-

rius undertook to supply the want thus created by writing a history of the Jews in heroic verse, and composing odes, tragedies, and comedies upon subjects found in the Old Testament. He also made a translation of the Psalms in verse, the only one of his works now extant. His chief doctrinal peculiarities consisted in the denial of the possession of a human soul by our Lord, and in attributing to him but one nature. He died about A. D. 380.

BASIL.

THE "holy Basil" is the name attached to the liturgy ascribed to this father, a title won from an admiring age by his ascetic habits and self-sacrificing labors, even more than by his defense of orthodoxy. He was born about A. D. 330 at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, of wealthy and cultivated parents. The family gave to the Church three bishops, Basil and his brothers Gregory and Peter; while their sister, the saintly Macrina, and their eldest brother, Naucratius, a Christian jurist, were ornaments to the piety of the age. In Basil's childhood the family removed to Pontus, but he returned while young to Cæsarea, where he received his earlier education. After intermediate study at Byzantium, his course was completed at Athens, where he took the highest rank as a scholar. Gregory Nazianzen, with whom he thus early formed a life-long friendship, says that his industry was such that he might have succeeded without talent, and that his endow-

ments were such that he might have succeeded without great labor.

He was as yet unbaptized, and his studies were those of the Greek curriculum—rhetoric, grammar, philosophy, and medicine being his favorite departments. Of the latter science he acquired the practice, a proficiency to which he was prompted by his own feeble constitution. He began active life by teaching rhetoric at Cæsarea; but, through the influence of his sister Macrina, he was soon led to embrace a religious life. Being baptized and ordained as a reader, he made a trip to Egypt and Palestine, visiting the famous monks and hermits of those countries. Profoundly impressed with the spiritual value of an ascetic and contemplative life, but appreciating the loss to the world through a selfish withdrawing of men into solitude, he soon established in Pontus a convent, where the advantages of seclusion and self-denial could be coupled with the mutual aid of like-minded brethren. To this retreat he enticed his friend Gregory, and, in the little time which they there spent together, the two, in addition to their manual labors, devoted themselves to the study of Scripture and to compiling selections from the works of Origen. But Basil had entered upon the monastic life in a practical spirit, and had no thought of being content with the spiritual culture of himself or a narrow circle of friends. His evangelistic labors reached out into the provinces of Pontus and Cappadocia, and led to the establishment of many religious communities, and to the wide preaching of the gospel of unworldliness among a most worldly people. Amid this monastic

work Basil did not forget other interests of the whole Church. By his writings and his personal influence he was a firm supporter of the Nicene faith, and he used this influence, though in vain, to keep the Bishop of Cæsarea from subscribing to the creed of Arianism. At the death of this bishop, and the election of Eusebius, a civilian, as his successor, Basil, whose work against Eunomius had now given him prominence, seemed likely at once to have the real administration of the see confided to him. Owing to the jealousy of the bishop, this was delayed for a season; but soon the troubles arising from divisions in the Church and from Arian opposition compelled Eusebius to call for assistance, and Basil thus became the actual head of the diocese of Cæsarea some years before he was made bishop in name. It was A. D. 370 when he succeeded to the chair of Eusebius, which he occupied until his death in A. D. 379; and, though in very delicate health, probably no bishop ever crowded into a shorter space so much and such good work as he accomplished in these nine years. An important part of his labors was the reforming of the clergy of his diocese, into which body would seem to have been received many incompetent and unworthy men. He also resisted, as did no other bishop in the East, the encroachments of the Arian government. Once, at the coming of Valens to Cæsarea, Modestus the prefect summoned Basil to an interview, hoping to secure his submission to the faith of the Arian emperor. The bishop appeared, but confronted the officer with such firmness that he exclaimed indignantly that he had never before

been addressed in such tones. "Apparently you have never before met a bishop," was the proud reply. But, if somewhat imperious in temper, he was also princely in his ideas of the beneficent work becoming a bishop. The charitable institutions which he carried on in Cæsarea, the hospitals and asylums served by his monks, might well have challenged the admiration, if they did not awaken the jealousy and the emulation, of the state authorities. Happy would it have been for the Church and for the world if asceticism and monasticism had always resulted in such practical beneficence! His own example, in giving away his whole fortune in a time of famine, gave him a vantage-ground as a preacher of self-denial, and in nothing does he become more eloquent than in his appeals to the rich in behalf of the poor.

Beyond his own province his influence was mainly felt as a supporter of the orthodox faith, and a promoter of the peace of the Church. Especially did he labor to interest the bishops of the West in behalf of the confessors of the Nicene creed in the East.

Still Basil was not *the* defender of orthodoxy, nor *the* superlative preacher of his age. That he could receive such an extravagant eulogy as he received from Gregory Nazianzen; that he filled so large a place in the regard of the Church that the fathers at Chalcedon, seventy years later, could call him "the greatest of the fathers," must be attributed, not to his books nor to his sermons, but to the remarkable personality which he threw into the practical every-day work of the Church,

and with which he impressed himself upon all his associates. Such was this personal impression that men far and near came to copy his individual habits. Not simply to accept Basil's opinions, but to be a Basil, was the ambition that he aroused in his contemporaries. Athanasius's greatness was due not a little to the reflex upon him of the great cause which he advocated. Basil gave greatness to an institution by becoming its champion.

WORKS UPON SCRIPTURE.

The most important of these are in the form of homilies and addresses, of which fifty-eight are now extant. The nine homilies of Basil upon the Hexameron have been deemed by some critics the finest of all his works. They explain the Scripture account literally, yet with elevation and breadth of thought and with elegance of expression. Though evincing great erudition, they are said to have been prepared hastily, and preached morning and evening during the Lenten fast. Gregory Nyssa affirms that men, women, and children of the humbler classes flocked in crowds to hear these discourses, and testified their appreciation of them by their applause. "The most simple," he says, "understood well his discourses, and the wisest admired them."

The first homily is here given almost entire:

Homily I, on the Hexameron.

"In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth."—Gen. i, 1.

1. A fitting introduction for one about to set forth the system of the world is to recount before his address the beautiful order of things visible. For the creation of the heaven and the earth is about to be treated—a creation which was not the work of

chance, as some have imagined, but which had its origin in God. What hearing is worthy of the grandeur of the theme? With what preparation of soul ought one not to come to the hearing of so great things? He must be free from the passions of the flesh, not blinded by worldly care, toilsome, apt at inquiring into everything surrounding him whereby he may secure a worthy knowledge of God. But before noting the precision of the words, and tracing how great is the significance of these few utterances, let us consider who is discoursing to us. For, although we may not attain to the full meaning of our author, on account of the feebleness of our intellect, yet, considering the authority of the speaker, we shall be led spontaneously to consent to the things spoken. [Brief sketch of Moses' education, career, and intimate relations with God.] This, then, is he who, alike with the angels deemed worthy of beholding God face to face, speaks of the things which he heard from God. Listen, then, to the words of truth, not as speaking the persuasions of a human wisdom, but the oracles of the Holy Ghost; their aim being, not the applause of those who hear them, but the salvation of those who are instructed by them.

2. "*In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth.*" My speech pauses, from wonder at its sentiment. What shall I say first? How shall I begin my theme? Shall I speak of the vanity of those without? or shall I sing praises to our own truth? The sages of Greece have built upon nature a multitude of systems; but not one has had a strong and solid consistence, the one which follows always overthrowing the one which has preceded it. Thus we have not the work of refuting them, since they suffice one another for their own overthrow. In their ignorance of God, they did not know that an intelligent cause presided at the creation of the

universe; but they paused with the order of events, as was appropriate to their ignorance of the first principle. Some took refuge in materialistic arguments, positing the cause of all things in the elements of the universe; others represented that atoms, and indivisible parts and masses, and fibers (πόρους) contained the nature of things visible. . . . Truly they weave spiders' webs who speak these things, who thus posit fragile and baseless foundations for heaven and sea. For they have not known how to say, "In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth." Wherefore, on account of their atheism, they have deceived themselves into believing that all things are without a governor, unarranged, as if directed by chance. That we might not be influenced by which [opinion], the writer of the creation, almost in the first words, illumined our minds by the name of God. "In the beginning God made." How beautiful the order! He establishes at first a beginning, that one may not believe that the world has had no beginning. He adds immediately "made," to show that the making is the least part of the power of the Creator. Like a potter who, after having made with an equal energy a great number of vessels, has exhausted neither his art nor his power, so the sovereign Maker of the universe, to whom belongs creative power, not restricted to our world, but without bounds has fixed the greatness of things visible at what it is, solely by his own will. If, then, the world has had a beginning and has been created, seek ye who has given to it this beginning, who has been its creator. Rather, lest through inquiry by human reasoning you turn from the truth, he anticipates this by his teaching, putting forth the most honorable name of God as a seal and preservation, saying, "In the beginning God made." The blessed Nature, the Goodness without measure, the

Best-Loved by all who have reason, the Beauty much desired, the Principle of all which exists, the Source of life, the Light which lightens minds, the Wisdom impenetrable—He, "in the beginning, made the heaven and the earth." 3. . . . "Heaven and earth shall pass away." The preannouncement of the dogmas concerning the end and transformation of the world had already been given in brief, in the elementary instruction of inspiration: "In the beginning God made." All things begun in time of necessity end in time. . . . 4. [Sets forth that proficiency in the human sciences, as in knowledge of the heavens, brings men into greater condemnation when they do not discern God.] 5. . . . There was a certain order of things older than the creation of the world, suited to the celestial powers, transcending time, eternal, perpetual. It was fitting that to this pre-existing world should be added a new world, which should be both the school and place of discipline of human souls, and in general a home suited to all who are born and who die. At the same moment with the world, and the animals and plants therein, began the procession of time, always urging and rolling on, never ceasing in its course. Is not this time, that of which the past is no more, the future is not yet, and the present escapes before it is observed? 6 and 7. [Here it is shown that the "beginning" was no part of time; and that the creation was not formal but real.] 8. . . . As to what is the essence of the firmament we are satisfied by what was spoken by Isaiah, who in commonplace words set forth a conception of its nature suitable for us when he said, "Who hath established the heavens as smoke,"* that is, has fixed for the constitution of the heaven a delicate nature, not solid and not crass. And as to the form, that

* Isaiah, li, 6, LXX.

suffices us which he said in the praise of God, "Who hath raised the heaven as an arch." . . . 9. [Having spoken of a too curious inquiry into the nature of things, the author says:] But it is necessary, whether we grant that the earth rests upon itself, or say that it lies upon the water, never to recede from the pious opinion, but to confess that all things are held together by the power of the Creator. It is, indeed, fitting to say this to ourselves and to those who ask upon what the huge and overwhelming burden of the earth rests, that "in the hands of God are the deep places of the earth." This is safest for us, and is profitable for those who hear. 10. [Discusses the mediate position of the earth.] 11. . . . From the grandeur of these sensible bodies surrounding us, we know him who is infinite, exceeding difficult to know, surpassing all thought in the plenitude of his power. For, although we are ignorant of the nature of things created, still the various objects which fall under our senses are so marvelous that the most penetrating mind comes short of so understanding the least things in the world as to do them justice, or to render worthy praise to their Creator. To whom belong glory, honor, and dominion, world without end. *Amen.*

Introduction to Homily on Psalm I.

(A preface to the study of the whole Psalter.)

The whole of Scripture is divinely inspired and useful, being written by the Holy Spirit to this end, that, as in a common surgery of souls, all men may select the medicine for their own ills: for "medicine," it is said, "assuages great sins." In some parts the prophets teach, in some the historians, in others the law, and elsewhere is given the peculiar instruction of the Proverbs. The book of Psalms unites what is useful in them all. It prophesies of

things to come; it recalls to mind historic facts; it lays down the laws of life; it prescribes the things to be done; and, in a word, is a common treasury of wholesome instruction, discovering diligently that which is suitable to each. It heals the old wounds of souls, and brings a speedy cure to those but recently hurt; what is ill it relieves, what is sound it preserves. In short, it eradicates the evils in the life of men, spread skillfully under whatever form in their souls, and that by a certain winning of souls which produces chaste and sweet and wise thought. For, since the Holy Spirit saw the race of men restive toward goodness, and us heedless of the right life by reason of a proneness to pleasure, what did he do? He mingled with precepts the agreeableness of harmony, in order that through the smoothness and softness of the sound we might draw from the words that which is useful, just as wise physicians, giving their more bitter medicines to the sick to drink, frequently smear the cup with honey. . . . Youths either in age or disposition may think of the melody, but they instruct their minds with the truth. For no one of the easy-going multitude has passed away who has ever carried easily in his memory the apostolic and prophetic precepts, but they chant the words of the Psalms at home and sound them around the market-place. And when any one whose soul is violently agitated at once begins to sing a psalm, he is immediately calm, having soothed the agitation of his soul by the melody.

Psalmody is the tranquillity of souls, the arbiter of peace, soothing the turbulence and violence of the thought. For it represses the passion of the soul and chastens its license. Psalmody is the bond of friendship, the union of those separated, the reconciliation of those at enmity. For who is able still to cherish enmity toward one with whom he

has lifted up one voice unto God? Psalmody puts demons to flight, places us under the protection of angels, arms against nocturnal frights, rests from the fatigue of the day. It is a support to infancy, the ornament of youth, the consolation of old age, the most beautiful dress of woman. It makes deserts habitable, and moderates the forum. It is a start to those beginning, progress to those advancing, and support to those nearing the end. The language of the Church, it makes glad her festal days, it inspires the sorrow which is according to God. Psalmody draws a tear from the heart of stone. Psalmody is the work of angels, the employment of heaven, the incense of spirits. O wise invention of the teacher, who causes us at once to sing and to find out what is useful! . . . What is not there to be learned? Are not firmness of courage, the perfection of justice, grave sobriety, consummate prudence, a model of penitence, a standard of patience, whatever you can mention of good? Here are a perfect theology, the prophecy of the coming of Christ in the flesh, the threatening of judgment, the hope of the resurrection, the fear of punishment, promises of glory, the revelation of mysteries. As in a great public treasury, all things are stored in the book of Psalms.

Extract from Homily on Psalm XLVIII.

"You had need of a Redeemer to secure the freedom which you had lost when conquered by the power of the devil, who, bringing you under his sway, would not release you from his power until, persuaded by a suitable ransom, he should choose to exchange you. It was needful, then, that the ransom should not be of the same nature with those in bonds, but should differ greatly, in order that the captive might be willingly released from bondage. Wherefore a brother could not release you. For no

man is able to persuade the devil to release one once under him from his power, since none is able to make atonement for his own sins to God. How, then, could he do this for another? Seek not, therefore, thy brother for thy redemption, but some one who surpasses thy nature, and not a man, but the God-man, Jesus Christ, who alone is able to make atonement to God for us all, because 'him did God set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood.' . . . What can a man find of such value that he should offer it for the redemption of his soul? Yet one thing was found, the equivalent for all mankind, which was given as a price for the redemption of our souls, namely, the holy and precious blood of Jesus Christ, which he shed for us all. Therefore are we bought with a price. . . . He who redeemed us, considered as to his nature, was neither our brother nor man; but, regarded as to his gracious condescension to us, he calls us brethren, and comes down to humanity."

Summary of Homily upon Baptism.

Those not baptized are still in darkness, and the Church ceases not to solicit them to come and be renewed in the sacrament of regeneration. Decide, then, to be baptized without delay. Show the seal of the child of God. The true motive for delay is a desire to indulge yourself in evil. There will be nothing to commend in giving yourself when sated with pleasure and ready to die. Life, too, is uncertain; also, one's ability to receive baptism if so delayed. It may be too late at last, and then—the fires of hell!

Extract from Homily on pulling down and building greater.

"Who, then, is the miser? He who has never enough. Whom do you account a robber? He

who despoils others? You would not be a miser, a robber?—you who appropriate to yourselves what you have received only to dispense! You would call a robber him who strips from the clothed his dress; but does he, who, being able, does not give to one who is in want, merit any other name? The bread which you hold back is his who is hungry; the clothing which you keep in your closets is his who is naked; the shoes which you let rot are his who is unshod; that gold which you bury is his who has none. So that you do wrong just so far as you allow tears."

Basil's Confession of Faith: in Homily upon Faith.

"We believe in and we confess that there is one God, sole principle of all good, Father all-powerful, author of all things, God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, also God. And [we believe in] his one only Son Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, alone true, by whom all things have been made, whether visible or invisible, and in whom all subsist; who in the beginning was with God and was God, and afterward was seen upon earth and lived among men, according to the Scriptures; who, having the form of God, did not think it a prize for himself to be equal to God, but emptied himself; and by birth from a virgin took the form of a servant, and, becoming a man in likeness, accomplished all which had been written concerning him, in accordance with the will of the Father, being made obedient unto death, the death of the cross. And after being raised from the dead the third day, according to the Scriptures, he was seen by his faithful disciples and others, as it was written. And he ascended into the heavens and is seated at the right hand of the Father, whence he will come at the end of this age, to judge the dead, and to render to each one

according to his works; when the just will enter into eternal life and the kingdom of heaven, and the wicked will be reserved to an eternal punishment where their worm dieth not and their fire is not quenched. And [we believe in] one only Holy Ghost, the Paraclete, by whom we have been sealed for the day of redemption, the Spirit of unity, the Spirit of adoption, by whom we cry Abba, Father; who determines according to his own will, and distributes to each one the gifts of God according to their utility; who teaches us and suggests to us all things whatsoever he hears from the Son; who is good, and who directs us into all truth; and confirms all believers in a certain knowledge and an accurate confession, and a pious worship, and a spiritual and true adoration of God the Father and of his only-begotten Son, our Lord and God Jesus Christ, and of himself."

Extract from Address to Young Men on reading the Profane Authors.

[After citing the examples of Moses and Daniel, it continues:] "It is sufficiently proved that this pagan learning is not without use to the soul. Consequently, we now say in what manner it is needful for you to share in it. First, to commence with the works of the poets, as they offer discourses of every kind, the mind is not to fix upon all things in their order. When they show you a good man, whether they recount his actions or his words, it is necessary to love him, to take him for a model, and to make all effort to resemble him. Do they offer the example of a bad man? It is necessary to shun the imitating of such, shutting your ears, as they say that Ulysses did, so as not to hear the songs of the sirens. For the habit of hearing words contrary to virtue leads to the practice of vice. It is

necessary, then, to watch incessantly in guarding our souls, lest that, charmed by the attraction of the words, we receive in our ignorance some bad impressions, and with the honey introduce into our bosoms poisonous fluids. Thus, we do not approve the poets when they put into the mouths of their characters revilings and sarcasm, when they depict love or drunkenness, or when they make happiness to consist in a table well served and effeminate songs. Still less should we listen to them discoursing of their gods. . . . I am able to say as much of the historians. As to the orators, we should keep ourselves from imitating their art of lying: for falsehood can never become us, neither in the tribunal nor in anything—us, who have chosen the true and right way of life. But we should collect carefully the recitals of these authors when we see there the praise of virtue or the condemnation of vice. We rejoice only in the perfume and the colors of flowers, while the bees know how to find in them honey: so those who are not content to seek for the agreeable and the seducing in the works of the pagans, are able even to find in them treasures for the soul."

CONTROVERSIAL WORKS.

Against Eunomius.

This work, in five books, was written in refutation of the "Apology" of Eunomius, which was a defense of Arian doctrines. It has in part the form of a dialogue between Basil and Eunomius, and was deemed by the ancients one of the most valuable of the controversial works of the Church.

Book on the Holy Spirit.

This work was composed upon complaints being made that Basil held unorthodox views as to the

Holy Spirit, since he closed his sermons with the words "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, *with* the Holy Spirit." The expression "of whom," says Basil, which should be applied to the Holy Spirit as to the Son, denotes the efficient cause. The Holy Spirit is in no wise inferior to the Father. The judgment of the Church with regard to the Holy Spirit is received by tradition, and is in accord with the Scriptures. The Spirit is a person eternal, infinite, unchangeable, who perfects and strengthens us and gives us life.[1] That the Holy Ghost is to be joined with the Father and the Son is established by the formula of baptism. Certain objections, however, are made to this assertion, but we answer—1. That baptism is sometimes performed in the name of Christ alone does not militate against our truth, since the name of Jesus Christ denotes the whole Trinity. The ordinance, however, ought not to be performed in the name of Christ alone. 2. The Holy Spirit is joined with the Father and the Son, in Scripture, in a far different sense from that in which the angels are so joined. 3. To the assertion that the Scripture speaks of baptism into Moses, we reply that such baptism was only typical. Another sophism of the heretics is that we are baptized in water, which, however, is not honored as divine. This is ridiculous; the water does not baptize us, but the Spirit; the water is joined with the Spirit as the sign of the death and burial of the old man, but it is the Spirit who gives new life. Baptism is administered by dipping three times into the water, and by invoking the Trinity three times. The baptism of Jesus Christ is very different from that of John, which was truly only a baptism of water, whereas the baptism of Christ is the baptism of the Holy Spirit and of fire. Besides, the martyrs who have suffered death for Jesus Christ have not needed the baptism of water in order to receive

their crowns, being baptized in their own blood. Further, the Spirit is to be joined to the Father and Son as an equal. [The proof of this is given by the rules of logic.] The same glory and praise and honor are to be accorded to the Spirit as to the Father and Son. Some contend that the Holy Spirit is neither a Lord nor a servant, but that he is free. This opinion is absurd, since he either is a creature or he is not. If not, then he is God or Lord; if he is, then he is a servant. He is called Lord in the holy Scriptures, which also prove his divinity. [Many testimonies are cited.] The miracles attributed to the Holy Spirit prove him God. The expression, "Father and Son, with the Holy Spirit," means nothing else but Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The fathers simply used the particle "with" as the most proper to oppose the errors of Arius and Sabellius. [The author says, however, that he is not tied up to that expression, provided all be willing to accord glory to the Holy Spirit.] The particles "in" and "with" are distinguished. It is once more objected that we ought to receive nothing but what is in Scripture, whereas the words "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit" are not found there. But we have some very common practices in the Church which are supported solely by tradition, by the use of which, in addition to the Scriptures, our holy mysteries are preserved. Both these authorities have equal power for the promotion of piety.* [Examples of the usages established by tradition are cited, among them the making of the sign of the cross upon those who hope in the name of Jesus Christ, and the formulas for consecrating the bread and wine of the eucharist.] This position is supported by citing the usage of Irenæus, Clement of Rome, the two Dionysii

* ἅπερ ἀμφότερα τὴν αὐτὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχει πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν.

(of Rome and Alexandria), Eusebius, Origen, Africanus, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Firmilian, and Melitius, as well as the prayers of the Church, and the consent of the Eastern and Western Churches.

The Church in her present unhappy condition is like a naval fleet tossed by a tempest during a battle, and obliged to struggle at once with the waves and with furious enemies.

Extract.

(1.) "Let us explain what are our ideas concerning the Spirit; as well those gathered from Scripture as those which we have received from the unwritten tradition of the fathers. Who, then, but is elevated in soul when he hears the very name of the Spirit, and seizes upon thoughts of the highest nature? He is called the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Truth, which proceedeth from the Father, the right Spirit, the ruling Spirit. Holy Spirit is his leading and distinctive title. . . . Impossible, then, that he who hears of the Spirit should picture in his mind a circumscribed nature subject to change or alteration, or in any way like to a creature; but, soaring to the highest thought, he must conceive a rational substance, boundless in power, unlimited in greatness, immeasurable by time or by æons, bountiful in his good gifts; unto whom all things turn when they need holiness, whom all things long after that live according to virtue. . . . Perfecting all others, himself wanting in nothing, not living himself by removal but the giver of life; not growing by accessions, but at once complete, stablished in himself and existing everywhere. The source of holiness; the intellectual light; giving to every rational power a certain enlightenment from himself for the discovery of truth. By nature unapproachable; comprehensible by his own graciousness. Filling all things by his power, yet communicable to the wor-

thy alone. Not communicated to all in the same measure, but distributing his energy according to the proportion of faith. Uncompounded in his essence; various in his powers. Wholly present to each, and wholly present everywhere. Divided without passion; being shared, yet remaining whole, like a ray of the sun, whose favor to him who enjoys it is as if to him alone, but which shines over land and sea, and is diffused into the air. Even so the Holy Spirit, while he is wholly present to every one capable of receiving him, infuses into all a grace complete and sufficient, so that partakers enjoy him according to the measure of their ability, not of his power. . . . Cleansed, then, from the disgrace which through wickedness has defiled, and turned back to what is by nature good, and having, like a royal image, stripped off the old appearance through cleansing, so alone it is that one approaches the Paraclete. . . . He shines upon such as are purged of all stain, and makes them spiritual through communion with himself. And as clear, transparent bodies, touched by the sun, become glowing, and send forth from themselves another splendor, so Spirit-bearing souls, illumined by the Spirit, become themselves spiritual, and transmit grace to others. Hence the foreknowledge of things to come, the comprehension of mysteries, the discovery of secrets, the diffusion of gifts, the heavenly citizenship, the choral song with angels, the everlasting joy, the perseverance in God, the likeness to God, then the goal of all desires to become God."—(Cap. ix, secs. 22, 23.)

LETTERS.

To trace Basil's correspondence fully would be to write the history of the Church in his day, to fathom its controversies, to point out its secret and

open enemies, and to detail the unhappy relations of the East and the West. We must be content with extracts from a few of his three hundred and sixty extant letters.

From Reply to Gregory Nazianzen.

[Gregory had written to inquire about Basil's manner of life in his monastic retreat.]

"I am ashamed to write. For, although I have left behind me the diversions of the city as the cause of innumerable evils, I have not yet been able to leave myself. I am like those voyagers who are not accustomed to the sea; the motion of the vessel which bears them gives them an unendurable sickness; for, on quitting the land, they have not left upon shore the bile and the humors with which their stomachs are surcharged. That is precisely my case. So long as we bear about the germs of disease, we are everywhere subject to like disturbances. I have not found great fruits in my solitude. But what we are to do, and how we are to begin to be firm in the footsteps of him who has pointed out the way of salvation—for he said, 'If any one will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me'—is this: We must try to have a peaceful spirit. [Being ensnared by the world,] The only escape is separation from worldly things. What I call flying from the world is not merely to separate one's self from it in body, but to detach all one's affections; to be without country, home, business, society, property; to be poor, unoccupied, unsociable, untaught in human sciences, prepared to receive in the heart the canons which spring from the divine teachings. Now, for this, it is necessary to begin by destroying in one's mind all anterior prejudice. You can not impress upon wax new characters until after you have effaced the old: so divine instruction can not have place in a

heart preoccupied by all the ideas which come from one's habits. To this end the desert is of the greatest benefit to us, soothing our passions and giving the reason the calm necessary for altogether rooting them out from the soul. For as wild animals, being stroked down, are easily controlled, so the lusts and passions and fears and pains, the venomous evils of the soul, soothed by quietude, and not exaggerated by continual rousing, are easily restrained by the power of the mind. The place should be such as this, far from all intercourse with human beings, where the pious exercises of the religious life are not interrupted by anything without. The exercise of piety feeds the soul with divine reflections. What, then, is more blessed than to imitate upon earth the life of the angels: to rise at dawn to prayer and to the praise of the Creator in hymns and songs; then as the sun shines clearly, and work is undertaken, prayer going side by side with it, to season the labors with hymns as with salt? For the consolation of hymns confers a cheerful and untroubled state of the soul. Quiet, then, is the beginning of the cleansing of the soul; the tongue not uttering the things of men, the eyes not beholding the fine complexions and symmetry of bodies, the hearing not breaking down the strength of the soul through melodious strains conducive to pleasure, nor through the words of facetious and jesting men, which especially have the effect of impairing the vigor of the soul. For, not dissipated by things without, and not called away by the visible things of the world, the soul turns back upon itself; it elevates itself by its own efforts to the thought of God. Enlightened by his beauty, it forgets its own nature; it is not anxious, then, about food, is not weighed down by care for dress. Disengaged from earthly anxieties, it gives over its entire being to the possession of immortal good, whereby it may

continually maintain self-control, manly vigor, righteousness, prudence, and the other virtues of this sort—everything which makes for life, and leads one into the right way.

"To know well the path of duty, a most effectual way is to meditate upon our God-given Scripture. . . . After the lesson comes prayer, and occupies the soul filled with new strength and power, and stirred with a longing for God. Prayer is effectual to awaken in the soul a clear apprehension of God. And therein consists the dwelling of God in us, that we have God enthroned in us by thought. Thus we become a temple of God when constant reflection is not interrupted by worldly cares, and the spirit is not disturbed by sudden desires; but when he who loves God flies all, and devotes himself to God who drives away the bad inclinations which lead him to intemperance, and employs himself in works which lead to virtue."

From Letter to Bishop Amphilochius.

"Indicate to me the suitable time and the place in which we may bring together our brothers with ourselves, that we may take proper measures for the government of the Church according to the ancient discipline; also, for seeking to unite the brethren whom different opinions have divided. Let us treat them and receive them as if they were of our party and our friends. For it was once the glory of the Church that the faithful went from one end of the earth to the other, with short letters of recommendation instead of traveling-money, finding in each church their fathers and their brothers. The enemy of Jesus Christ has deprived the Church of this advantage as well as of several others. We are limited to our city. Every one holds his neighbor in suspicion. Whence is the cause of this, if not that we have suffered our love to grow cold, by

which alone, according to the judgment of our Lord, we may, as by a seal, recognize his disciples?"

To the Western Bishops.

"We implore you to give your attention, and to abandon yourselves without a moment's delay, to the zeal which love should inspire in you. Do not excuse yourselves by reason of the distance, of your domestic affairs, or of any other pretext. It is not one or two churches alone which are exposed to this furious tempest; heresy spreads itself from the confines of Illyria to the Thebaid. The infamous Arius sowed the first seeds of it; it has been strengthened by multitudes who have sustained his impiety with ardor, and we see now its fatal fruits. The dogmas of the holy doctrines are abolished, the unity of the Church is destroyed, the passion of ruling has seized upon the souls of those who fear not God, and the bishoprics are abandoned to them as the price of their impiety. He who has spoken most horrible blasphemies surpasses all his competitors, by the suffrage of the people; we no longer see marks of sacerdotal gravity; there are no longer pastors who have sufficient learning to instruct and feed the flock of the Lord; and the ambitious have converted to their own uses the alms designed for the subsistence of the poor. The exact following of the canons no longer obtains; sin is committed with impunity, with great license. Judgment is no longer given with equity: each one follows the movement of his own corrupt desires. Those who administer public offices do not dare to speak, because they are slaves to those who have procured the offices for them. A species of warfare is made upon those who follow the good doctrine, and men cover under the veil of an apparent piety the hatred which they have in the heart. You have heard of what has been seen in several cities:

men, women, children, old men, remaining faithful, are thrust without the walls of the city, and there offer their prayers and suffer with an incredible courage all the injuries of the open air, awaiting the help of the Lord. . . . Send us the most that you can of your brothers; that the number may be sufficient to constitute a legitimate synod; and that the merit of the envoys may contribute to re-establish the faith, by renewing that which the fathers of the Nicene Council ordained, and by cutting up entirely the root of heresy. It is the means of restoring peace to the Church, and of bringing in those who have cut themselves off by a diversity of opinion."

ASCETIC WORKS.

No works of Basil have exerted a more powerful influence upon the development of the Church than his ascetic writings. Besides some preliminary discourses, there are:

1. The Ethics.

This is a body of rules of morality drawn from the Scriptures. The rules are eighty in number, each divided into chapters, and each chapter substantiated by quotations from the New Testament. As a reason for so basing his ethics, he alleges that "whatever is outside of inspired Scripture, being not of faith, is sin." Rule seventy is a body of laws for the conduct of the minister of the Word. That it embodies so faithfully the permanent principle of ministerial labor is sufficient reason for giving it in full.

Rule for those intrusted with the Word.

1. Those who take into their care the preaching of the gospel ought, with prayer and supplication, to appoint, whether as deacons or presbyters, those

of a previously blameless life.—Matt. ix, 37, 38; Luke, vi, 13–16; x, 1, 2; Acts, i, 1, 2, 23–26; 1 Tim. iii, 1–10; Titus, i, 5–9.

2. Ordinations should not be matters of ease, nor should they be yielded to inconsiderately: for the unproved is not without danger. And one detecting any one in wrong-doing should make it known, lest he be himself a sharer in the sin, and that others be not offended, but rather learn to fear. —1 Tim. v, 22, 19, 20.

3. It is not fitting that he who is called come to the work of preaching of himself; but he should await the time of God's approval, and begin preaching when he is intrusted, and preach to those to whom he is sent.—Matt. x, 5, 6; xv, 22–24; John, viii, 42; Acts, xi, 19, 20; Rom. i, 1; x, 14, 15; 1 Tim. i, 1, 2.

4. He who is called to the preaching of the gospel ought to obey immediately and not to procrastinate.—Luke, ix, 59, 60; Gal. i, 15–17.

5. It is not right to teach heresies.—John, x, 1, 2, 7, 8; Gal. i, 8, 9; 1 Tim. vi, 3, 4.

6. It is right to teach believers all things commanded by the Lord, in the gospel and through the apostles, and whatever is consonant therewith. —Matt. xxviii, 19, 20; Acts, xvi, 4; 1 Tim. vi, 2; Titus, ii, 1.

7. If any one intrusted with the Word of the Lord's teaching is silent as to anything necessary to the well-pleasing of God, he is guilty of the blood of such as are endangered, either by the doing of what is forbidden or by the omission of what ought to be done.—Luke, xi, 52; Acts, xviii, 5, 6; xx, 26, 27.

8. In regard to what is not expressly enjoined by Scripture, it is necessary for each one to teach that which is best.—Matt. xix, 12; 1 Cor. vii, 25–27.

9. It is not permitted to lay upon others the necessity of doing what one does not himself perform.—Luke, xi, 46.

10. One appointed to the Word should give an example of all good to others, performing first what he teaches.—Matt. xi, 28, 29; John, xiii, 12–15; Acts, xx, 35; 1 Cor. xi, 1; 1 Tim. iv, 12.

11. One appointed to the Word should not be content with what is right of itself; but the peculiar and chosen work of his profession is to see the betterment of believers.—Matt. v, 13; John, vi, 37–40; 1 Thes. ii, 19.

12. One appointed to the Word ought to visit all the cities and villages intrusted to him.—Matt. iv, 23; Luke, viii, 1.

13. It is necessary to summon all to the obedience of the gospel, and to preach the Word with all boldness, although some may forbid and may pursue even unto death.—Matt. x, 27, 28; xxii, 8, 9; John, xviii, 20; Acts, v, 27–29; xx, 23, 24; 1 Thes. ii, 1, 2.

14. It is right to pray for the progress of believers, and to give thanks for the same.—John, xvii, 20, 21, 24; Luke, x, 21; Rom. i, 8, 9; Philip. i, 8–11.

15. Those things which are done rightly by the grace of God should be made known to others to the glory of God.—Luke, ix, 10; Acts, xiv, 26; Eph. vi, 21, 22.

16. It is necessary to have the care not only of those present, but also of those absent, and to do all things as the wants of the structure may require.—John, x, 16; 1 Thes. iii, 1, 2.

17. We must give heed to those who summon us to good deeds.—Matt. ix, 18, 19; Acts, ix, 38.

18. It is necessary to establish those who have received the word of truth by visitation.—Acts, xv, 36; 1 Thes. ii, 17, 18; iii, 1–3.

19. It belongs to him who loves the Lord, in

great charity toward those who are taught, with much zeal to train them in every way; although it be needful to persevere in teaching publicly and privately even unto death.—John, x, 11; xxi, 15–17; Acts, xx, 7, 11, 20, 21, 31; 1 Thes. ii, 9.

20. He who is intrusted with the Word should be merciful and compassionate, and especially toward the souls of those who are evil-disposed.—Matt. ix, 11–13, 36.

21. It is fitting to think compassionately even of the bodily wants of believers, and to care about them.—Matt. xv, 52; Mark, i, 40, 41; Acts, vi, 1–3.

22. One intrusted with the Word should not be zealous to work with his own hands upon trifles, to the neglect of a fit attention to greater affairs.—Acts, vi, 2, 4.

23. It is not right to try to win applause or to seek to make gain of the word of teaching by the flattery of the hearers, to the assurance of their pleasure or profit; but to beseech or speak unto the glory of God for his own sake.—Matt. xxiii, 5–10; John, vii, 16–18; 2 Cor. ii, 17; 1 Thes. ii, 3–6.

24. One intrusted with the Word should not exercise his authority insolently toward those under him, nor be arrogant toward them; but ought rather to use his rank as the opportunity for lowlimindedness toward them.—Matt. xxiv, 45–51; John, xiii, 13, 14; Luke, xxii, 24–26; Acts, xx, 17–19; 2 Cor. xi, 19–21.

25. It is not right to preach the gospel through strife, or envy, or rivalry toward any.—Matt. xii, 18, 19; Philip. i, 15–17.

26. It is not proper to employ worldly advantages for the preaching of the gospel, lest by them the grace of God be obscured.—Matt. xi, 25; 1 Cor. i, 17; ii, 1–5.

27. It ought not to be thought that the success of preaching is effected by our own talents, but

that the whole is wrought by God.—2 Cor. iii, 4–6; iv, 7.

28. It is not proper for one who has been intrusted with the preaching of the gospel to acquire possessions beyond what is necessary for his own use.—Matt. x, 9, 10; Luke, ix, 3; Acts, xx, 33; 2 Tim. ii, 4.

29. One should not give himself solicitude for the worldly affairs of those who are busy with too much care for these things.—Luke, xii, 13, 14; 2 Tim. ii, 4.

30. Those who through obsequiousness to their hearers neglect to speak freely the will of God, making themselves servants of those whom they wish to please, fall from their service of the Lord. —John, v, 44; Gal. i, 10.

31. The teacher should propose as his object to train all to a full manhood, according to the measures of the statures of the fullness of Christ, and each one in his own order.—Matt. v, 48; John, xvii, 20, 21; Eph. iv, 11–13.

32. Opposers should be instructed with forbearance and meekness, expecting their repentance, until the full measure of effort for them is filled up. —Matt. xii, 19, 20; 2 Tim. ii, 24–26.

33. It is right to yield to those who, through fear or reverence, seek excuse from the presence of the preacher of the Word; and not to urge contentiously.—Luke, viii, 37.

34. It is proper to withdraw from those who, through obstinacy, do not receive the preaching of the gospel, and not to suffer ourselves to be benefited by them in things requisite for bodily wants. —Matt. x, 14; Luke, x, 10, 11; Acts, xviii, 5, 6

35. After completing all manner of effort in behalf of the disbelieving, it is proper to withdraw from them.—Matt. xxiii, 37, 38; Acts, xiii, 46, 47; Titus, iii, 10, 11.

36. In all things, and toward all, it is necessary to preserve the literalness of the Lord's words, lest one's action be biased.—1 Tim. v, 21.

37. He who is appointed to the Word should say and do each thing with circumspection and much consideration, according to the standard of what is well pleasing to God; as bound both to be considerate of the believers and to bear witness.—Acts, xx, 18, 19, 33, 34; 1 Thes. ii, 10.

2. The [Monastic] Rules in extenso.

These are fifty-five in number, arranged in the form of question and answer, each response being a little treatise upon some theological or practical question. Query two, for example, is, Concerning love toward God, and as to the natural inclination and ability in men to obey the commands of the Lord. Query nine is, Whether necessity is laid upon those who are devoted to the Lord to give over their goods, without distinction, to the ungrateful among their relatives.

3. The [Monastic] Rules in Epitome.

These, too, are in the form of question and answer, being 313 in number, but individually briefer than the Great Rules. The following extract is from Rule 267:

Extract concerning Future Punishment.

The question is upon the beating with few or many stripes. "Those things which seem to have been expressed ambiguously and obscurely in some parts of the inspired Scriptures are to be explained by acknowledged principles found in other places. When, therefore, the Lord once declared that 'these should go away into eternal punishment prepared for the devil and his angels'; and elsewhere, speak-

ing of the hell of fire, added, 'Where their worm dieth not and their fire is not quenched' . . . while these and similar expressions occur many times in the inspired Scriptures, this is one of the artifices of the devil, that most men, as if forgetting such words and sentiments of the Lord and so many of them, may prescribe an end to punishment, to their presumption in sin. For, if once there is an end to the punishment of eternity, eternal life also will no doubt end. But, if we may not endure to think this of life, what reason is there for putting an end to eternal punishment? For the addition, *τοῦ αἰώνιου*, belongs alike to both. For 'these,' it says, 'shall go away into eternal punishment, but the righteous into life eternal.' Since, then, things are confessedly so, it must be certain that 'to beat with many' and 'to beat with few' indicate not a cessation but a difference of punishment."

The above conception of punishment as unending is used by Basil with great rigor in his sermons and in his letters to transgressors.

4. Canons on Monastic Penalties.

5. Monastic Constitutions.

A work upon the principle which should govern the lives of ascetics, as well those who dwell alone as those who live in communities.

Principal Extant Works of Basil.

HOMILETICAL: Nine homilies upon the Hexameron; two upon the "Creation of Man"; one upon "Paradise"; twenty-two upon "The Psalms"; twenty-four homilies and addresses upon various subjects. DOGMATICAL: "Against Eunomius"; "On the Holy Spirit." EXEGETICAL: "Commentary on first sixteen chapters of Isaiah. EPISTOLARY: 365 letters. ASCETICAL: The works mentioned in the text under this head. CANONICAL: A letter

to Amphilochius, laying down eighty-five canons of Church discipline.

LITURGICAL: The Eastern Church still uses a liturgy known as the "Liturgy of the Holy Basil." What part of this is from the hand of Basil it is now impossible to tell; but there can be little doubt that it corresponds in part with a form of service prepared by this father.

GREGORY NAZIANZEN,

SURNAMED by the Eastern Church "Theologus." He was born A. D. 325, the son of Gregory, bishop of Nazianzus, and of Nonna, a holy woman, by whom he was devoted to the service of God from his infancy. After a preliminary training at Cæsarea of Cappadocia, he studied successively at Cæsarea in Palestine, at Alexandria, and at Athens, acquiring a finished classical education. In Athens he became intimately associated with Basil in a friendship which proved life-long. He also had for a fellow-student Julian, afterward the apostate emperor. Having completed his studies, he became perplexed over the choice between a life of activity and one of retirement, a question upon which he seems always to have remained perplexed. Few men ever filled the place of Gregory, in the eyes of the world, who had such divided interests. We never wonder that Basil won the surname of the Great, for he had one sole aim. He gave himself to the monastic life, but he ever used his asceticism as a means to the one end of becoming a more efficient bishop. With Gregory, however, there was a painful hesitation. He never could quite forget

himself in monastic contemplation—the wants of the world were too apparent, and conscience was too keen for that; nor could he throw himself with *abandon* into the work of the world—for that he was too self-conscious. The first public betrayal of this spirit was in his running away from Nazianzus, where he had been ordained as an assistant to his father, into a monastic retreat, whence after a little he returned and made a public defense of his vacillating course. Later he permitted himself, under pressure, to be consecrated bishop of Sasima, a small town in Basil's diocese, but never undertook the duties of his charge, preferring to remain with his father at Nazianzus. At his father's death, A. D. 374, he retired into Seleucia, where, some four years later, he received an invitation to undertake the care of the little remnant of orthodox (Trinitarian) Christians in Constantinople. It was an opportune work for Gregory. A man of versatile talents, an orator of consummate eloquence, he went to the capital of the Christian world, as the champion of a truth, just upon the eve of a political revolution, which was to restore to that truth the patronage of the state. Then, too, the Arian intellectual movement, which was in the nature of things temporary, had now spent its strength; and, among a people ever ready to bow before the rising fortunes of an idea or of a prince, it only needed a brave spirit and an eloquent tongue to crystallize the accumulated truths of half a century of controversy and stamp them indelibly upon the popular mind. That spirit and eloquence were Gregory's. The little congregation, gathering first in a private house, swelled

to fill a magnificent church, called Anastasia; and, upon the coming of the Emperor Theodosius, Gregory was preferred to the place of archbishop, which dignity was confirmed to him by the Council of Constantinople. Hardly is he upon the throne, however, when his characteristic hesitation appears. Owing to some perplexities which had arisen over the see of Antioch, he suddenly pleads a desire to retire from his responsible position, and asks the council to grant him leave. Too easily for his pride, they granted his request, and, regretting sadly the scenes of his glory, he retired to Nazianzus and spent most of his remaining days in quiet upon his country estate. He died A. D. 389.

DISCOURSES.

Of all the Church fathers, Gregory was the most versatile in his talents. Theologian, poet, orator, bishop, he took high rank as each; but his superlative merit was as an orator. Earnest, sincere, impassioned, his discourses were yet the studied productions of the finished rhetorician. Sensitive to praise or blame, never quite able to forget Gregory, he would seem never to have neglected careful preparation for each several oratorical effort. The "Discourses on Theology" are to Basil's "Sermons on the Hexameron"—preached after the hasty preparation of a morning—as a finished treatise to the spontaneous outflow of a full mind. But Gregory's art of speech was art of that consummate order to which only the few attain; and while Chrysostom will ever rank as the great preacher of the early Church, Gregory must be placed by his side as the ecclesiastical orator. Including the eulogies, forty-

four of his discourses are extant, of which we give account of a few of the most important.

Five Discourses on Theology.

In these discourses, delivered in Constantinople shortly before the second general council, it has been said that Gregory, in a few pages and a few hours, summarized and closed the controversy of a century. They were his master efforts in the defense of the Nicene faith, and won for him his title of Theologian. Together they form a complete treatise upon the Trinity. The first is upon the use to be made of divine truth, and is especially directed against the current habit of even the multitude of arguing upon the most august mysteries of religion at all times and in all places. Only the few, it is here claimed, are fitted to discuss the nature of the divine essence, and even they should so choose time and place as to speak with profound reverence. The second treats of the mystery of the divine essence, an awful theme before which the speaker recoils, as if, like Moses, he were penetrating the cloud to have intercourse with God. "Would at least that some Aaron might offer himself as a companion of my ascent, and might stand near me, even if himself without the cloud! For souls the most elevated are able neither to express nor to comprehend perfectly what God is. It is doubtful if celestial intelligences are able by their own unaided powers. We know that there is a God. Our eyes and our reason tell us that there is a creative and preserving cause called God, as the sound of a lyre reveals to us a maker and a performer. That is all. What is this God? Of what essence is He? We know not; his nature escapes us. We know that the first cause is not corporeal; but such negation is not definition.

"No more are we able to say where God is. If

we say nowhere, I ask how can he exist? If he is somewhere, he is surely in all things or above all things. If he is in all, he is contained, which is impossible for the Infinite. If he is above all, where is he? Must there not then be a limit which separates all things from what is above all? This limit constitutes a place. He is then in a place, and we are again in the same difficulty. Besides, where was he before the world existed? All is impenetrable mystery."

The nature of the divine essence is then above all conception by human intelligence. It is, moreover, well that it is so. For—1. We shall esteem this knowledge more highly when it is given to us. 2. We should, perhaps, lose ourselves through pride, like Lucifer, if it were given us too soon. 3. The certainty of one day attaining it sustains us, in the trials and combats of this life, of which it will be the just and worthy recompense.

The cause of the impotence of our soul to attain, here below, to the perfect knowledge of the Supreme Being is above all the body which is united to it, and which prevents it from rising sufficiently above things sensible.

God, to accommodate himself to our weakness, has in Holy Scripture called himself Spirit, Fire, Light, Love, Wisdom, Justice, Knowledge, Word. But all these names suggest only comparisons or images drawn from created things. The soul exhausts itself in vain, seeking to comprehend the nature of the Infinite, as it is in itself. It yields before the task, and, unable to seize it, is forced to come back again toward created beings. Thus, either, through a deplorable bewilderment which causes idolatry, it makes gods of these, or it makes use of them as steps to lift itself to the knowledge of God the creator, the ordainer, and preserver of all things. That is all that it is given to man to

comprehend of God here below. The saints themselves, who have seen God, have not seen him in his essence, but only in form.

Far from being surprised at this, we should reflect that the nature even of created beings and their mode of existence are equally involved in mystery. Gregory then shows this by a detailed examination of the nature of man, animals, plants, the elements, the stars, and celestial spirits.

In the third and fourth discourses Gregory enters into the heart of the great subject of the Trinity: There is only one God, who is the sole monarch of the universe; but this God is not limited to a single person. He is three distinct persons, having the same essence, the same nature, an equal dignity, and always united by concord of will, by community of action, and by a perpetual aspiration toward unity. The Father, who is not begotten, begets the Son. The Son is begotten of the Father. The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. This generation and procession are eternal. The manner of the divine generation is and ought to be impenetrable. Man can not understand his own, much less can he comprehend the divine, generation. Angels even do not know the manner thereof.

Having met and refuted objections of the Arians, Gregory brings forward the passages of Scripture establishing the divinity of the Son and those representing him as inferior to the Father; and by tracing rapidly the principal features of the life of Christ, shows that they apply to his double nature. Ten principal texts are especially treated, and the expositions given have since been generally received and employed by defenders of the Catholic faith. As to the names to be given to God, the Supreme Being is indeed ineffable, and the name which he has given to himself is that which least defines his nature, namely, 'I am that I am,' or simply, He

who is. Yet each of the divine persons has a particular name, namely, Father, Son, Holy Spirit. The Son has various names applicable to him as God from all eternity, and others appropriate only by reason of his incarnation.

Discourse five is upon the Holy Spirit: Our adversaries, even those most moderate in regard to the Son, say, Whence do you bring to us this strange God, of whom the Scriptures do not speak? Let them reject him if they will, but I will take the most conspicuous place and proclaim the divinity of the Holy Spirit, and will apply the same expressions to the three persons of the Trinity. If there were a time when the Father did not exist, it was when the Son existed not; and if there were a time when the Son did not exist, it was when the Holy Spirit existed not. But if the unity existed at the beginning, so also existed the three persons. The Scriptures teach that the Holy Spirit is neither a divine attribute nor an accident, but a person, and that this person is not a creature but a God. As to any seeming obscurity of Scripture, he says that the Old Testament speaks clearly about the divinity of the Father and less clearly of the divinity of the Son; the New Testament teaches with precision the divinity of the Son, but is less precise as to the divinity of the Holy Spirit. And it was well that it should be so, for, *first*, the spirit of man was too feeble to support all at once so much light; and, *secondly*, it was better that the divinity of the Holy Spirit should be clearly proclaimed only after the resurrection of Jesus Christ. Assurances of this truth were thus given in the great miracles on the day of Pentecost.

On the Dignity of the Priesthood.

This discourse was prepared as a personal apology of Gregory for his flight into solitude after he

had been called to the priesthood; but his grasp of the theme made it a grand treatise upon the duties and dignity of the priesthood. He had not fled, he said, from insensibility to duty. It is true that, in the Church, some are to be pastors and teachers, those namely who are superior to the rest, as the mind to the body; nor should this order be neglected. Let no one absurdly suppose that I coveted a higher rank. I was won by a love of that retirement in which the soul may become as a mirror reflecting divine rays. Besides, unworthy men are rushing into the ministry led by ambition. Then I thought of the difficulty of governing men, which is so much greater than the leading of flocks. It is so difficult for men to obey, how much more difficult is it to command men, especially in divine matters, in which the greater the authority committed to one the greater is his peril! Nothing is easier than to have one's bad examples followed; but how rarely goodness draws to virtue! A little wormwood will make bitter a great deal of honey, but much honey will not sweeten the wormwood. Nor is one fitted for the ministry by simply being himself free from evil. One must not only depart from evil but must do good, and a pastor is guilty if he does not day by day approach a higher perfection. He must lead his flock with tenderness, not with constraint and violence. But even with all virtue, I do not see how one can undertake without fear such a leadership. For, to rule men, the most variable of all animals, seems to me the art of arts, the science of sciences. This appears when we compare the curing of souls with the curing of bodies. The aim of the physician is to give health to a body destined to corruption, a health which is ever uncertain and is an indifferent possession. Over against this is the aim to give wings to the soul, to draw it away from the world and give it to God, to preserve the

divine image, yet remaining, or succor it in peril, or to recall it, being lapsed, to its pristine state, to admit Christ through the Holy Spirit to the domicile of the breast, and, to sum up all, to make God and give supernal blessedness to him who is of the supernal order. Unto this end tended the law and the prophets, and the consummation and end of the spiritual law, Christ. For this purpose have all the mysteries of God been revealed. Therefore the generation, the Virgin, Bethlehem, the choir of angels, the shepherds, the magi, the baptism, the temptation, the ministry, the cross, the tomb, the resurrection. And of this medicine we are ministers who are placed over others. The great diversities among men increase the task of this ministry. Our principal duty is the proclaiming of the divine word. All think themselves fitted for this, and I wonder at their temerity, not to say folly; for it seems to me to demand rare talents. For it is necessary to speak of all doctrines, above all of what should be believed of the august and blessed Trinity. Herein is peril; lest, on the one hand, in speaking against many gods, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost sink into mere names, and on the other, speaking of these distinctions, we give an idea of three distinct and foreign subsistences. There is need of other things to make such discourse effective, namely, a mind illumined by God's Spirit and a talent for speech on the part of the preacher, and docility and purity of heart on the part of the audience. And what shall I say of those who preach from a thirst for glory or a desire of power? of the ignorant who, like swine, tread the holy doctrine under their feet? and of those who, having no certain opinions, follow the thought of the hour and are as the blind leading the blind? What various talents should not he have who must lead different minds each by its own suitable method! And who

is sufficient unto these things? Among the Hebrews, the reading of certain Scriptures was wisely allowed only to those of a fixed age. But among us there is no limit to those who may learn and teach, and many who are wise only in their own eyes assume to instruct.

Let us take example from the Apostle Paul. Passing by his sufferings, and persecutions, and labors for his own support, what shall I say of the tribulations of his mind in behalf of the churches? of his entire devotion, his burning zeal, his willingness to be accursed for his brethren's sake? of how, after Christ, he was the first in self-sacrifice for the salvation of men? Such as unworthily assume the place of pastors incur the denunciations of the prophets of old against the false prophets. Who, therefore, shall rashly give himself to this work? Shall one wholly unfitted allow himself to be at the head of a flock of Jesus Christ? I tremble at the danger to which he thereby exposes himself.

Notwithstanding all this, Gregory declares that he has returned to his pastorate, led by love for his fellow-townsmen, by the need which his parents have of him, by the perils of disobedience, and especially by the example of Jonah.

Farewell to the Church at Constantinople.

In this address, delivered before the fathers of the second General Council, Gregory gives an account of his administration of the Constantinopolitan church, and of the condition in which he found and in which he was now leaving it. He sets forth the faith which he had preached, protests his disinterestedness, and asks permission to retire. Following is his peroration:

"What say you? Have we by these words persuaded you and conquered? Or is there need of words more urgent? Nay, then, by the Trinity

whom we and you adore, by our common hopes, grant to us this favor, dismiss us with your prayers. . . . With these last words I salute you. Farewell, Anastasia, named for thy piety; for thou didst rescue to us the faith until then despised, thou seal of our common triumphs, thou new Shiloh in which first we rested the ark which had wandered forty years in the desert. And thou, this great and glorious temple,* thou new inheritance, having thy present grandeur from the Word, which, once a Jebus, we have made a Jerusalem. And you sacred edifices which rank next after this in beauty, and which, scattered throughout the various parts of the city, bind them together as so many bands, you which beyond all hope we, not of ourselves but by God's grace, have filled.

"Farewell apostles, glorious colony, my masters in the contest. If I have not often celebrated your feasts, perhaps it is because, like your Paul, I have for my good a messenger of Satan in my body, by which I am now separated from you. Farewell, O throne, enviable and perilous seat; assembly of pontiffs; priests, venerable in majesty as in years; and all these ministers before the altar who draw near to God, who draws near to us. Farewell, choir of Nazarenes, harmonies of the psalms, nocturnal stations, sanctity of virgins, modesty of women, companies of widows and orphans, eyes of the poor turned toward God and toward me. Farewell homes friendly to the stranger and to Christ, and helpers in my infirmity. Farewell you who have loved my words, gathering crowds and styles [for writing down his words], seen and unseen, and barriers forced by those eager for my words. Farewell, O sovereigns, palace, courtiers, faithful perhaps to the sovereign—I know not—but unfaithful

* The Church of St. Sophia.

chiefly to God. Clap your hands, cry aloud, raise aloft your orator. That tongue depraved and loquacious to you is silenced; but it will not be silent altogether, it will combat through hand and pen. As to the rest we are now silent.

"Farewell great city, friendly to Christ—for I will heed the truth—but whose zeal is not according to knowledge; the separation makes us more friendly. Come to the truth; even thus late be converted; honor God more than in the past. Change brings no shame, but continuance in evil is fatal. Farewell, Orient and Occident, for whom and with whom I have contended. He is witness who makes you at peace, whether any will imitate my conduct. For those will not lose God who renounce their thrones, but will have a seat above far more exalted and secure than these. Finally and before all I cry, Farewell, angel protectors of this church, and of my sojourn and my departure, so only as my affairs be in God's hands.

"Farewell, O Trinity, my care and my glory. Be safe among them and keep them safe, my people—for they are mine, though I am directed in a different way—and announce to me that thou art in every way exalted and glorified by word and act. Children, keep that which I have confided to you; remember my strivings. And may the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all!"

PANEGYRICS AND EULOGIES.

Not least noteworthy among the addresses of the preachers of this age were their panegyrics of the martyrs and their eulogies upon the recently dead. No longer, like the pagan orators, commemorating virtues which had ceased to be, but celebrating the careers of those who now looked down upon them from glory, they rose to a warmth of ad-

dress, a sense of sympathy with the dead in which the noblest of pagan eulogies are lacking, and which lifts their Christian eloquence above that of the most faultless of classical eulogies.

We have eulogies of Gregory pronounced upon his father, brother, and sister, and upon Athanasius and Basil. In these he seems to recognize the continued interest and influence of the departed in and upon the affairs of this world.

Eulogy of Gregory the Elder.

Addressing Basil, who is present as his friend and as the metropolitan of the Nazianzene Church, Gregory calls upon him to assure the flock that their good pastor is still present in their midst, leading them in the sacred pasture, marching at their head, knowing his sheep and known by them; that, if not seen in a sensible manner, he is with them spiritually, fighting for his flock against the wolves and robbers who would turn them away from the holy doctrine. He is assuredly the more able to do this now by his prayers than formerly by his doctrines, as he is the nearer to God, and freed from the trammels of the body.

The people, he says, will be too happy in finding as a successor, not indeed the equal of their pastor, but one who is not too much his inferior. After sketching the career of his father, recounting his virtues, and affirming that God had honored his piety by extraordinary signs, Gregory thus apostrophizes him: "Make me to know in what glory thou art, what light surrounds thee, and receive into the same tabernacle, after a little, thy wife, and the children whose funerals thou hast before prepared, and myself, either suffering no longer, or for a brief time, the ills of this life."

He closes with these words to his mother, Nonna: "The nature of God and of man, O mother,

is not the same; or, rather, of beings divine and earthly. Theirs and that of their belongings is changeless, immortal, for firm are the things of the firm. But what of ours? It is fleeting and corruptible, and liable to constant change. Life and death, though they seem so opposite, revolve around one another and give place to one another. The former, beginning in the corruption of the mother, passing on through the corruption which is ever around us, comes to an end in corruption at the dissolution of life. The latter, which frees from present evils, and frequently leads to life supernal, I know not whether it is properly called death, which is, in name rather than in its nature, fearful. And how absurdly we seem to be affected who dread those things which should be the least deprecated, and cling to what should be feared as the rather desirable! One thing is life, to anticipate life. One thing is sin: for it is the destruction of the soul. Other things of which we think so much are waking visions, making sport of realities, delusions, spectres of the mind. If, O mother, we fix upon these things, we shall not think too highly of life, nor be too much cast down by death. What so great misfortune, then, do we suffer, if we attain to the true life; if, freed from the vicissitudes, the deceits, the disgusts, and the exactions of this shameful tribute, with things stable, not fleeting, we become lesser lights revolving around that great light? But does the separation pain thee? Let the hope of reunion delight thee! . . . You have lost sons in the vigor of manhood, full of life, and you have borne it with as much of courage as of wisdom. To-day, as you have witnessed the yielding of a body borne down under the weight of years, and which was surviving itself, although the vigor of his soul still kept each of the senses intact, show yourself equally firm. You have no one to

take care of you? Have you not always your Isaac, who has been left to you to take the place to you of all the rest? Alas! how slight the domestic services which you are able to receive from my zeal! I ask of you something more important: your maternal benediction, the help of your prayers for the coming emancipation. Does such advice make you uneasy? I do not blame you. It is the same that you have been the first to give to all those who, in the course of the long life which you have lived, have loved so much to be ruled by your counsels. It is not, then, to you that they are addressed, to you the wisest of women; I present them to all afflicted hearts.—Mortals, let us not forget that those for whom we have to weep were mortals."

LETTERS.

The peculiar genius of Gregory is seen in his letters, of which we have two hundred and forty-three. Here appear that eloquence and versatility upon which rest his claims to celebrity. We prize Basil's letters chiefly for their historical value. Gregory's merit a literary rank beside the letters of Cicero and Pliny. Their subjects are of a wide range; they are written in an excellent style, and, besides the erudition which they reveal, they breathe a certain air of delicacy and politeness, of grace and sweetness, which always charms. A single example must suffice.

Letter to Thecla,

(On the death of her brother Sacerdos).

"In spite of my age and feebleness, I incline to come to your piety, to see you and at the same time congratulate you upon the firmness worthy of a philosopher which you have displayed in regard to your

blessed brother. I say blessed, for I have no doubt as to this. But, having been prevented from coming to you, I am compelled to have recourse to a letter to address to you some philosophical words upon your situation.

"Who, then, gave to us the illustrious Sacerdos, that worthy servant of God who is such to-day as in the past? God. Where is he now? Near to God. I see too that it is not without pleasure that he has escaped from envy and struggles with the spirit of evil. And whence did we come? Was it not from the same source? Whither are we going? Is it not to the same Master? Yes, without doubt, and let us be able to do so with the same assurance. Worshipers of the same God, we have been upon the earth, and we shall go from it in the same manner, after having suffered here some little things—little at least in comparison with the hopes of the other life—and these little things we perhaps suffer only that we may learn to appreciate the happiness. That father, mother, and brother, who have gone before us, what are they? A succession of travelers who deserve our praises. Thecla, the servant of God, who holds the first rank among good people, will soon follow them, after having tarried a little—long enough to honor the dead, and to become to many persons a model of philosophy in this respect. Let us, then, praise that Power always immutable, and accept his decisions with sentiments more elevated than those of the vulgar.

"For the present, receive these lines in place of my visit, and cherish these thoughts, although you may yourself find better ones. If, besides, it shall be granted me in person to see you and those who are with you, my thanks to my Benefactor shall be more abundant."

POEMS.

Gregory was the first of the Greek Christian poets to approach, even if at some distance, the poets of antiquity. Most of his poems were written during the leisure of his closing years. They more than suggest to us the Alexandrian professional poets, but, on the other hand, let it be said, first, that no writer of verses ever surpassed Gregory in that elegant culture and that experience of the vicissitudes of life which are fitted to equip a poet; and, secondly, that Gregory was not without the true poetic fire. Alexandria could only produce elegant forms; for the old faiths were decayed, and no Muse spoke through her polished measures. But behind Gregory, heir of the Alexandrian and Athenian culture, was Christianity. New emotions, of which the old poets never dreamed, were now awaiting utterance, and Gregory so voiced them as to create a new order of poetry, that of religious meditation or philosophic reverie. A distinguished critic has said: "It was in the new forms of a contemplative poetry, in that grieving of a man over himself, in that *mélancolie intime* so little known to the ancient poets, that the Christian imagination was especially to contend with them without disadvantage. There, out of it, was born that poesy which modern satiety seeks, the poetry of reflection which penetrates to man's heart, describes his most intimate thoughts and vaguest longings." Not all of Gregory's modern successors in this department of poetry have uttered so well the Christian hopes, and fears, and sorrows. Certainly no one else deserves recognition as the father of our modern poets, who analyze our feelings and reveal us to ourselves, as does Gregory.

His verses numbered thirty thousand. Modern editors have classified them as—1. Dogmatical; 2.

Moral; 3. Personal poems; 4. Epistolary; 5. Epitaphs; 6. Epigrams. The dogmatical poems, numbering thirty-eight, are in part metrical theses on the great mysteries of the faith, part pieces to aid in the memory of Scripture, and in part hymns and prayers. An admirer has likened Gregory to Dante in his importation from theological science into poetry of grand and exalted ideas, which would never have been reached by the unaided imagination. Following is a translation of one of the hymns:

Hymn to God.

"O Being above all beings! for how else may we rightly celebrate thee? How can tongue praise thee? for thou art speakable by no tongue. How can mind comprehend thee? for thou art comprehensible by no mind. Alone thou art ineffable; since thou hast brought forth whatever speaks. Alone thou art incomprehensible; since thou hast brought forth whatever thinks. All things, speaking and silent, celebrate thee. All things, rational and irrational, do thee homage. The common desires and pangs of all are around thee; to thee are raised all prayers. Thee do all who comprehend thy being celebrate with one accord in silent canticles. In thee alone all things abide. To thee at once do all things move. Thou art the end of all, the only, the all, and none of these: not the only, not the all. Having all names, how shall I designate thee, who alone canst not be named? What celestial mind shall penetrate the veils above the clouds? Be propitious to us, Being above all beings, for how else may we rightly celebrate thee?"

There are forty of the moral poems. Their evident aim is to show the vanity of worldly things, and detach men's hearts from the world; to combat vice and celebrate virtue; and to fix moral

truths in the soul. Several of the longest are devoted to the praises of virginity, the most celebrated of these being a hexameter of seven hundred and thirty-two verses. A dialogue in the earlier part of this poem holds high discourse of time "When black night beclouded all," and "light first was," by the decree of the blessed Christ; and when the Father, praising the work of the Son, announces his will to create man. The theme soon descends to the commonplace; but so truly sublime is the atmosphere of this opening, that a critic, by no means flattering to Gregory's poetry as a whole, has questioned whether even Milton and Michael Angelo did not draw inspiration from this dialogue.

It is in his personal poems that Gregory is most original and interesting. We have ninety-nine of these poems, ranging from an autobiography of 1,949 verses to epitaphs of a few lines. The collection is like a journal in which the poet recounts all his varying impressions, and lays his soul bare to the world; being in this respect a prototype of the "Confessions" of Augustine. We are happy in having a rendering of one of these poems by Mrs. Browning, from which we take the following:

To his Soul and Body.

What wilt thou possess or be?
O my soul, I ask of thee.
What of great, or what of small,
Counted precious therewithal?
Be it only rare, and want it,
I am ready, soul, to grant it.
Wilt thou choose to have and hold
Lydian Gyges' charm of old,
So to rule us with a ring,
Turning round the jeweled thing,
Hidden by its face concealed,
And revealed by its revealed?

Or preferrest Midas' fate—
He who died in golden state—
All things being changed to gold?
Of a golden hunger dying,
Through a surfeit of "would I"-ing.
Wilt have jewels brightly cold,
Or may fertile acres please?
Or the sheep of many a fold,
Camels, oxen, for the wold?
Nay! I will not give thee these!
These to take thou hast not will,
These to give I have not skill;
Since I cast earth's cares abroad,
That day when I turned to God.

. . . . .

What then wouldst thou, if thy mood
Choose not these? what wilt thou be,
O my soul? a deity?
A God before the face of God,
Standing glorious in his glories,
Choral in his angels' chorus?

Go! upon thy wing arise,
Plumèd by quick energies,
Mount in circles up the skies;
And I will bless thy wingèd passion,
Help with words thine exaltation,
And, like a bird of rapid feather,
Outlaunch thee, soul, upon the ether.

But thou, O fleshly nature, say,
Thou with odors from the clay,
Since thy presence I must have,
As a lady with a slave,
What wouldst thou possess or be
That thy breath may stay with thee?
Nay! I owe thee naught beside,
Though thine hands be open wide.

Would a table suit thy wishes,
Fragrant with sweet oils and dishes
Wrought to subtile niceness? where
Stringèd music strokes the air,
And blithe hand-clappings, and the smooth
Fine postures of the tender youth,
And virgins wheeling through the dance,
With an unveiled countenance—
Joys for drinkers, who love shame,
And the maddening wine-cup's flame.
Wilt thou such, howe'er decried?
Take them—and a rope beside!

Nay! this boon I give instead
Unto friend insatiated:
May some rocky house receive thee,
Self-roofed, to conceal thee chiefly;
Or if labor there must lurk,
Be it by a short day's work!
And for garment, camel's-hair,
As the righteous clothèd were,
Clothe thee!

. . . . .

And thus I speak to mortals low
Living for the hour, and o'er
Its shadows, seeing nothing more;
But for those of nobler bearing,
Who live more worthily of wearing
A portion of the heavenly nature—
To low estate of clayey creature,
See, I bring the beggar's meed,
Nutriment beyond the need!
Oh, beholder of the Lord,
Prove on me the flaming sword!
Be mine husbandman, to nourish
Holy plants, that words may flourish
Of which mine enemy would spoil me,
Using pleasurehood to foil me!

Lead me closer to the tree
Of all life's eternity;
Which, as I have pondered, is
The knowledge of God's greatnesses:
Light of One, and shine of Three,
Unto whom all things that be
Flow and tend!

Many of these personal poems of Gregory have been published under the title of "Songs of the Swan."

The epistolary poems are seven in number, the three addressed to Hellenius, to Olympiade, and to Nemesius, being especially remarkable for their beauty.

The extant epitaphs number one hundred and twenty-nine. They always express some profoundly moral and Christian thought, and many of them have been called *petits chefs-d'œuvre* of grace and sentiment.

We have ninety-four short poems classed as epigrams, though not all of them would conform to the strict requirements of that title. Many of them are directed against sins prevailing among the clergy. They are thought to have been mostly written in the author's early life.

GREGORY NYSSA.

Of the three great Cappadocians, the most vigorous and original thinker was Gregory Nyssa. Strikingly akin to Origen in the freedom and often in the fancifulness of his thinking, he yet was a recognized champion of the trinitarian doctrine, and contributed largely, perhaps more than any other one father, toward the logical completion of the Nicene Confession by the Council of Constan-

tinople. In spite of certain Origenistic opinions, which were afterward repudiated by the Church—for example, his belief in the ultimate reclamation of the wicked—he was held in high esteem by his contemporaries in the orthodox body, and by an œcumenical council of the next century he was referred to as "a father of fathers." Born about A. D. 331, and early connected with the church, he did not, like his brother Basil, abjure the world. He was married, and followed the profession of rhetoric. At the age of fifty, however, he was induced by Basil to enter the ministry, and was by him named to the bishopric of Nyssa. His zeal and ability in the defense of the Nicene faith soon made him obnoxious to the Arian authorities who were then dominant, and in the year 375 he was driven into exile, to be restored, however, by the proclamation of Gratian, A. D. 378. Among other honors conferred upon him by the Council of Constantinople, he was commissioned to visit and inspect the churches of Arabia. In connection with this journey he visited Jerusalem, and made observations which led him to write in disapproval of pilgrimages to that city. He was present at a synod held in Constantinople, A. D. 394, but how long he lived afterward is not known. His more noteworthy writings are here described. Some of the extracts are from portions of his works which a late Patriarch of Constantinople said were interpolated; but, as they are characteristic passages, whose sentiments are interwoven with Gregory's whole teaching, they should not be sacrificed, out of consideration for his orthodoxy.

THE CATECHETICAL DISCOURSE.

This work is in forty chapters, preceded by a preface, which shows that the argument for Christianity must be adapted to its hearers. In opposing severally pagans, Jews, and heretics, we must meet them on common ground. To an atheist we prove the existence of God by the creation. A Jew must be led to understand the Scriptures by comparing them with reason, and may then be shown the existence of the Divine Word from Scripture testimony. Chapters one to thirteen are devoted to proving the divinity of the Son and the Spirit, and the next fifteen chapters treat of the incarnation. We reason to the incarnation from the fact that man, who had fallen into sin by his own fault, could only be raised up again by his Creator; hence came the Divine Word. It was not unworthy of God thus to be born and die, nor did the divinity thereby lose its divine perfection. Such a union of the divine and human is no more incomprehensible than the union of soul and body. That Christ was divine is proved by his miracles. He became man out of good-will to men, such incarnation being the most natural remedy for our miseries, and something agreeable to the goodness and the justice of God. Chapter twenty-nine propounds the question why sin was not checked in its incipiency, and answers it by declaring that sin needed to work itself out in all the forms which it shows in history, in order that the healing might extend to the utmost limit of the disease. Next is discussed the fact that only a limited number receive the grace of faith. If it were true that we held that faith is apportioned by the divine will, then one might rightly object to this mystery; but, since the calling is made alike to all men, God must not be accused because the Word does not gain the mas-

tery over all. In calling men to faith, God does not take away their liberty; that is why many of them still perish. Christ needed to die, that he might become wholly like us, and that by rising again he might prove our resurrection.

Passing on to the Christian ordinances, chapters thirty-three to thirty-six treat of baptism. In this rite three things conduce to the immortal life—prayer, water, faith. In the triple burial in the water is imitated our Lord's death of three days' duration. It is the divine virtue accompanying the rite which effects the transformation. Without this sacrament no one can be washed from sin, because only by it can the divine virtues be made effectual for us. Those who are not thus purged must be purged by fire.[1] [Here, as in chapter eight, the Origenistic doctrine of restoration is made prominent.]

But man is of a double nature, is soul and body, and, while the soul may attain to salvation by faith, the body must come to it in another way. The body can be immortal only as, by communion with the immortal, it becomes a partaker of incorruption. This it does in receiving the Lord's body.[2] "We must consider how it can be that that one body distributed evermore to so many thousands of believers throughout the world is wholly in each one by a part, and remains entire in itself."

Spiritual regeneration has this peculiarity, that he who is thus born knows from whom he is born and unto what life; for in this kind of birth it depends upon man what he will become. But this regeneration is unprofitable if, after receiving the sacraments, one continues in sin. "Dost thou not know that man does not otherwise become a child of God but by becoming holy?"

Extracts.

1. "[God] willed that which should happen, and has not restrained free-will; so that he perhaps willed that man should swerve from the good, since he foreknew all and saw the future alike with the past. But, as he saw his aberration, he also reflected how he could turn him back again to the good."—Chapter 8. "For not all who through the resurrection return again into being attain to the same life, but there is a great difference between those who are purified and those who lack purification. Those who in this life have been cleansed through the bath of regeneration attain to a condition suited to them; purity corresponds to freedom from suffering, but at all events there is freedom from suffering. But those in whom passion has been arrested, and who have not shared in the cleansing from pollution, nor in the mysterious knowledge [gained in baptism], nor in the invoking of the divine power, nor in the improvement through repentance, must also attain to a condition suited to them—the melting-pot is suited to unrefined gold—that the sins clinging to them may be, so to speak, melted out, and, after many centuries, a pure nature and God may be attained. Fire and water possess a purifying power. Therefore they who have been purified from the filth of sin through the mysterious water need not the other kind of purification. But those who have not shared in that purification must necessarily be cleansed by fire."—Chapter xxxv.

2. "The body [of Christ] was through the indwelling of the Word of God raised to a divine dignity. Rightly, therefore, do I now believe that bread sanctified by the Word of God is transmuted into the body of the Word of God. For that body was virtually bread. It was, however, sanctified by the indwelling of the Word, which dwelt in the flesh. Therefore, as in that body the transmuted

bread passed over into divine virtue, so now it is the same. There the grace of the Word made holy the body, the substance of which was from bread, and which in a certain sense was itself bread. Here likewise the bread, as says the apostle, is sanctified by the Word of God and prayer; not becoming the body of the Word through the eating and drinking, but being immediately changed into the body of the Word, as was said by the Word, 'This is my body.' "—Cap. xxxvii.

ON THE SOUL AND THE RESURRECTION.

This is a dialogue between Gregory and his sister, called forth by the recent death of their brother Basil. In it Macrina urges upon Gregory the abandonment of heathen philosophizing over the nature of the soul, and the acceptance of the Christian teaching. He endeavors to show the concurrence of reason with such teaching. "My opinion," he says, "is this: The soul is an active, living, spiritual essence, which confers upon the organized body, which perceives through its senses, power to live and to observe those things known by the senses so long as its nature is capable thereof." The soul is immortal, and in the future life will recognize the elements of its body scattered at death, and will reassume them. This last is illustrated by supposing that many vessels of clay of various sorts, bowls, pitchers, etc., are broken into fragments; the owners of these, it is claimed, will be able to distinguish the fragments of the several vessels from one another and from fragments of the unmolded clay. The story of the rich man and Lazarus[1] is shown to have a figurative and spiritual meaning. The doctrine of the transmigration of souls, also, is discussed and refuted.

Extract.

"The teaching [of the gospel concerning hades]

is indeed wrapped up to some degree in material expressions, yet most men who inquire carefully are led by these to a spiritual understanding. When the Lord speaks of a great gulf which separates the bad from the good, and leaves the rich man in hell to long for a drop of water reached forth with the finger, and gives to him who had been miserable in this life the bosom of Abraham for a resting-place, he has already spoken of their death and burial; so that, for him who reads the Word with understanding, this points to another than the apparent meaning. What kind of eyes are they which the rich man lifted up in hell, when he had already left his bodily eyes in the grave? How could he who is without a body feel the flames? What kind of tongue is that which he wished to have cooled by a drop of water when he now had no corporeal tongue? What finger was to bring him the drop? And what means the bosom in which the poor man rested? The bodies are in the grave, but souls are neither corporeal nor have they parts; consequently the account cannot be true if we must interpret all literally. We must thus understand all figuratively, and by the gulf which separates the two places must not conceive of an earthly distance; for what difficulty were it for a spiritual and incorporeal being to fly through never so large a space, when a spiritual being can transport itself in the twinkling of an eye whithersoever it will?"—*Soul and Resurrection.*

AGAINST EUNOMIUS.

This was not only the most elaborate treatise by Gregory, but was accounted one of the chief books of the age in defense of the consubstantiality of the Son and the divinity of the Holy Spirit. It is in twelve books, in the first of which Gregory defends Basil against calumnies brought against him

by Eunomius in the latter's reply to Basil. The faith of Christians, it is asserted, comes to them, not from men but from Jesus Christ the Word of God, in person and through his apostles. It can not be changed or added to. Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are co-ordinate, each with each other, the one God of our faith. The leading aspect in which the person of the Son is presented and defended is as the Only-begotten. The work maintains his consubstantiality with the Father, the fullness of his divinity, the eternity of his generation in the bosom of the Father, his distinctive character as Mediator, and the beneficence of his mediatorial work. The divinity of the Holy Spirit is also proved, as against the assertion of Eunomius that he is the first creative and supreme work of the Son. The argument adduces the common designation of Father, Son, and Spirit as "holy"; shows that the Spirit's work as Comforter is also ascribed to both Father and Son; cites the Lord's declaration (John, xv, 26) that the Spirit proceeds from the Father—which is said by the Lord of no created being; points out the office of the Spirit in the birth of the children of God; shows that the Lord, whom Isaiah saw "high and lifted up," is by Paul (Acts, xxviii, 25) called the Holy Spirit; quotes the Lord's words (John, iii, 8) as proving him to be free, not subject, as Eunomius had said, to the Son; and shows that the Spirit has ascribed to him all the attributes of the Father and the Son,[1] and that he performs works ascribed to God. Gregory makes use of abstract reasoning, arguments from nature, and expositions of Scripture passages which Eunomius had interpreted falsely. Among other calumnies which he charges upon Eunomius is his assertion that his opponents make Christ a mere man; whereas Gregory affirms that the Only-begotten Son of God assumed human

flesh, and, becoming mediator between God and man, suffered and died as a man, but as God was impassible and incorruptible. He disposes of such passages as Acts, ii, 36, by showing that Christ was not "made" as to his essence. This he does by citing the declaration that Christ was made sin for us. The name Lord refers to the dignity, not to the essence, of Christ. The true name of the divine essence is unknown to men. The Son is to the Father as the brightness is to the flame, as the faculty of seeing is to the eye. There are many kinds of generation, but the generation of the Son was unique; for that reason he is called Μονογενής. Not God the Father alone, but also the Son, is good. It was through his benignity and goodness that he formed, and, by his cross and death, reformed man. Eunomius has made use of Egyptian fables against Christian doctrine. He has also, by making the work of Christ a necessity instead of his free act, robbed him of his claim upon the gratitude of men.

Extract.

"If the life-giving power which is in the Father and the Son is shown also in the Holy Spirit, according to the declaration of the gospel; if he is incorruptible and unchangeable, permitting no evil; if he is good, and right, and commanding, and works all in all as he wishes; if we may see all such things to be the same in Father and Son and Holy Spirit—how is it possible through this identity to discern diversity of nature?"—Book II, 14.

ON THE CREATION OF MAN.

The thirty chapters of this treatise handle such questions as the creation of the world, the formation of man, and the nature and origin of the soul. The soul, it is held, is a spirit, and is equally in all parts of the body; it has no pre-existence, but comes into being at the same moment with the

body. That creation in God's image allows of certain differences between the human and the divine is set forth in the following extract:

Extract.

"God has made human nature participant in every good. For, since God is the fullness of perfection and man is his image, the likeness of the image to the original must consist in its possession of perfection. Therefore, we have every kind of beauty, all virtue and wisdom, and everything which makes perfect. It is one of these perfections, too, that man is free and is controlled by no physical force and chooses whatsoever he will. Virtue is thus something free and voluntary; what is forced can not be virtue. If, then, the image which in every feature approaches the original were not in some respect different from it, manifestly it would not be a likeness, but a complete identity. What difference, now, do we know between God and man created like unto God? God is uncreated, man is created. Out of this difference there proceeds another: It is conceded by all that the uncreated Being is also unchangeable, and is evermore like himself; but the creature can not remain without change. . . . God, now, who foreknows all things, perceived by his foreknowledge how man with his free-will would decide—for he foresaw the future—and therefore he established in his image the difference between male and female."—Chapter 16. . . . "God foresaw in his omniscience that man would not remain inclined to the good, and would therefore lose the angel-like life. [The angels, it has been shown, increase without marriage.] Since, then, the multitude of human souls, by that kind of increase by which the angels multiply, would, through sin, remain incomplete, he made our nature suitable for that kind of increase which would

be appropriate to us after we had fallen into sin." —Chapter 17.

Principal Works.

DOGMATIC: The "Oratio Catechetica Magna"; "On the Formation of Man"; the "Hexæmeron," a work explaining the order of creation as related in Genesis; "On the Soul," addressed to Tatian; "On the Soul and the Resurrection"; "On Faith," against the Arians; tract "Against Fate"; "To Ablavius," against Tritheists; twelve books "Against Eunomius"; "Of Great Abraham," on the divinity of the Son and Spirit; "Of the Untimely Death of Infants"; "Treatise of Common Notions," addressed to the Greeks and explaining the terms used with reference to the Trinity; "Ten Syllogisms" against the Manichæans; two tracts against the Apollinarians. ASCETIC and PRACTICAL: "On Virginity"; the "Life of Moses," a treatise concerning the perfect life, abounding in allegorical interpretation; "On Pilgrimages to Jerusalem," dissuading from such pilgrimages, on account of the corruption attending them, and remarking that "change of place does not cause the nearer approach of God"; the so-called "Canonical Epistle," laying down rules of penance. EXEGETICAL and HOMILETICAL: "On the Inscriptions of the Psalms," "On the Sixth Psalm," "On the First Three Chapters of Ecclesiastes," "On the Canticles," "On the Lord's Prayer," and "On the Beatitudes"; various sermons, among them a noticeable one on 1 Cor. xv, 28, in which the author's peculiar views as to the future are advanced. PANEGYRICS: On the martyr Stephen, the martyr Theodore, the Forty Martyrs, Gregory Thaumaturgus, the Empress Placilla, Ephraem Syrus, Basil, Melitius.

DIDYMUS.

DIDYMUS the Blind was the most distinguished successor of Origen in the catechetical School of Alexandria, and the last before the school sank into obscurity. Though blind from his fifth year, he yet became one of the most famous scholars of his age. He acknowledged Origen as his master, and

wrote an interpretation and defense of his "Principles." That, notwithstanding this, he was visited by Jerome, and acknowledged by him as his master, is the highest possible testimony to his rank as a scholar and his pre-eminence as a theologian and expounder of Scripture. His life nearly covered the fourth century, his death, at an advanced age, occurring A. D. 394 or 399. Jerome gives a long catalogue of works by Didymus, but we have left only (1) a Latin translation by Jerome of a work on the Holy Spirit, (2) a Latin translation of Notes on all the Canonical Epistles, and (3) a book against the Manichæans in the original.

The work on the Holy Spirit was declared by Jerome to be the source from which the Latin writers drew all that they wrote upon this subject. It is a methodical and exhaustive treatise, proving that the Holy Spirit is not a name or a property, and not a creature, but a real existence, of the same nature as the Father and the Son.

EPIPHANIUS.

LEARNING and credulity are seldom attendants upon the same man through a long life, but they were united in the service of Epiphanius. Born about A. D. 310, in Palestine, he was a student from his youth, and acquired a considerable command of languages and of pious learning. He became devoted to an ascetic life from an early residence in Egypt, and continued in this habit after returning to Palestine, becoming finally president of a monas-

tery. In 367 he was nominated Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus. His zeal was not limited to the defense of the orthodox faith; he must needs root out, so far as he was able, every heresy. In this interest it was that he wrote the work against heresies by which he is now best known. Had this been his only method of opposing error, he might have been remembered by the Church with no other than a kindly regard; but he had conceived such a dislike to Origen, and all who advocated any of his doctrines, that he entered into a virulent quarrel upon this subject, first with John of Jerusalem and then with Chrysostom. In the latter affair, which occurred toward the close of his life, the old man allowed himself to be made a tool by Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, who, jealous of the Bishop of Constantinople, had craftily affixed the red rag of heresy to him and sent the credulous saint stamping and roaring into the very precincts of the imperial court. Coming to Constantinople, Epiphanius was very bitter, and eager to denounce Chrysostom in his own church; but, upon further conference with certain Origenistic monks from Egypt, he found that he was quarreling with good men in the interests of a selfish prelate, and sadly he set out for his home. He died, as it is supposed, before reaching Salamis, about A. D. 402.

His works are characterized by strange crudities of beliefs, no father having given currency to more improbable and absurd legends. We have from him, besides his work against heresies, and an abridgment of the same, "The Anchoratus," or an epitome of the Christian faith, a treatise on

longer the opportunity, and those who have been conquered have been rejected. For all things are complete and perfect when we go out from this life."—*Haer.* 59.

On the Several Orders of the Clergy.

"Or how can a presbyter be called equal to a bishop? Truly some excessive boldness or ambition has deceived this Aërius. For that he may deceive as well himself as his hearers, he makes this objection: The apostle writes of presbyters and deacons [i. e., as embracing the entire clergy], not of bishops. Also, addressing a bishop, he says, 'Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which thou receivedst through the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.' Then in another place [he says] 'bishops and deacons,' so that bishop seems to be the same as presbyter. But this man being surely ignorant of the lineage of the truth, and not versed in its more recondite history, does not understand that the apostle, while the teaching of Christian truth was yet recent, wrote according to the circumstances; for when now bishops had been constituted, he wrote to bishops and deacons. For frequently the apostles were not able to administer all things. And the work was indeed, at the first, intrusted to presbyters and deacons, by both of whom ecclesiastical affairs are truly able to be administered. Wherefore, when as yet no one appeared worthy of the episcopate, no one was made a bishop in that place. Yet when necessity required, and there was no lack of those who were worthy of the episcopate, then bishops were constituted. But where there was not a great multitude, none could be found who might be made presbyters; wherefore they were limited to a bishop only. Still, there can be no bishop without a deacon. Wherefore, the apostle took care that, for the giving of thanks, dea-

cons should be present with the bishop. Therefore while as yet the Church could not be completed in all its functions, during that time a *status* arose suited to the several places. Nor, indeed, is there anything which, from its beginning, has been complete in all its parts; but as time passes, with all its opportunities, the arrival at perfection at last occurs."—*Haer.* 75.

On the Use of Images in Churches.

On a visit to Palestine, Epiphanius's zeal against error had led him to a violent act, of which he speaks as follows: "When I entered into the church of a village of Palestine called Anablatha, I found there a curtain hanging over the door whereon was painted an image like that of Jesus Christ or some saint—for I do not remember whose picture it was. But seeing in the church of Christ the image of a man, contrary to the authority of holy Scripture, I tore it down and gave order to the church-warden to bury some dead body in this curtain, and when they answered me in a murmuring way that if I would tear this curtain I should give them another, I promised to do it, and now I perform my promise."—*Letter to John of Jerusalem.*

DIODORUS OF TARSUS,

The father of Biblical Interpretation. The fourth century seems a late period to acquire this title, but previous to this time the Alexandrian allegorical methods of interpretation had so vitiated the results of biblical study that there was no true science of interpretation. Diodorus was a priest and monk of Antioch, where, in the absence of

Meletius, he managed the affairs of the church so discreetly that in the year 375 he was made bishop of Tarsus. Meantime he had been laying the foundations of biblical hermeneutics by the preparation of numerous commentaries, in which allegory gave place to a literal and grammatical interpretation, and by his training of two pupils, John [Chrysostom] and Theodore [of Mopsuestia], who were to become so distinguished in the Church, and to contribute so largely to a clear knowledge of the Scriptures. Diodorus's works, which were largely biblical, are all lost, owing probably to the senseless prejudice which at a later age arose against him because Theodore of Mopsuestia had been one of his pupils! He deserves, however, to be cherished in our memory as among the great writers of the early Church.

CHRYSOSTOM,

The Preacher. His name was John, the surname of the Golden-Mouth having been given him after his death. He was born of a noble family, at Antioch, about 347. His mother, Arethusa, who was early left a widow, gave him the first masters of the age, but took care that the arts of the great rhetorician Libanius should not win him to heathenism. Having at first inclined to the law, he gave up this profession, and put himself under the care of Diodorus for the study of the Scriptures. After his baptism he spent six years in the desert, in ascetic exercise and study. Driven to the city by his delicate health, he was ordained deacon by Mleetius

and afterward presbyter by Flavianus. The larger part of his active career was passed in preaching in the church at Antioch, where he gained such renown that in 398 he was made bishop of Constantinople. It was while presbyter at Antioch that he first preached most of his published sermons, among which were the famous discourses On the Statues. While in retirement, before he began preaching, as is supposed, he had written his work on the Priesthood. Into his new sphere, as administrator of the archdiocese of Constantinople, he carried the same unworldly principles which had thus far marked his life and preaching. It seems not to have occurred to him that there could be one standard of morals for humble life and another for ministers and princes. In the midst of the luxury and profuseness of the capital, with ample revenues at his command, he maintained his own simple habits of living and laboring. Instead of gracing the court with ecclesiastical retinues, soothing princes and ministers with delicate flatteries, and entertaining idle prelates at a bountiful table, he gave himself to the preaching of righteousness, the rebuking of sins, whether of senator or shop-man, the building of hospitals, the establishment of missions among the Scythians, the reform of abuses among the bishops and clergy under his care, and the casting of contempt upon the crowds of idle monks who hung upon the skirts of the court. He was more zealous in the establishment of holy shrines, and the conduct of toilsome processions in honor of the saints, than in the politic apportionment of the emoluments in his gift. This course

was not calculated to attach to him the powers that were. Supported enthusiastically for a time by the empress, she afterward turned against him, and to accomplish his overthrow she summoned to Constantinople his bitterest enemy, Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria. A pretext for a charge of Origenism had been afforded by Chrysostom, in the kindly reception which he had given to four monks who had been driven from Egypt by Theophilus because they would not subscribe a condemnation of Origen. Aided by the court, Theophilus convened a synod at Chalcedon, which, overriding all semblance of law or justice, decreed Chrysostom's deposition. He was at once arrested and taken to Nicæa. The storm raised by the populace, who idolized him, soon compelled his recall, but it was only for a brief season. He knew no other aim of preaching but to denounce sin and win to righteousness, and the sins of the court could not escape him. Certain profane honors which had been paid to a statue erected to the Empress had also been denounced by him, and the report was spread abroad that he had begun a discourse with the words, "Herodias is again furious; Herodias again dances; she once more demands the head of John." Though this report was not true, the hostility of the Empress was so aroused that another council was convened, which, on the pretext that he had reassumed his office without a regular restoration, confirmed anew his deposition. He was exiled now to Cucusus, in the Taurus Mountains. In this solitude, besides carrying on a correspondence with bishops, East and West, he continued to prosecute missionary

work, sending out preachers among Goths and Persians, and to care for churches in Armenia and Phœnicia. But such activity was not to the minds of his enemies, who persuaded the Emperor to order his transportation to Pityus on the Euxine. He never reached this place, for on the journey thither, worn out with fatigue and illness, he died, at Comana in Pontus, A. D. 407. His exile had led to a schism of his more devoted followers, who were called Johannists. Thirty years after his death, however, the schism was healed by the bringing back of his relics to Constantinople, and the act of the Emperor Theodosius II, in publicly imploring the forgiveness of God for his ancestors' sins against the saint.

Unquestionably the greatest preacher of the early Church, we admire in Chrysostom the man above the preacher, and in his preaching we admire the moral above the intellectual. It was an age to call forth such a preacher. There was now a lull in theological controversy, between the Councils of Constantinople and Ephesus, and energies which in Athanasius and the great Cappadocians had been turned to the overthrow of heresies were now left free for the attack of vice and corruption. To this sole end Chrysostom directed his powers, and with such success that people wept and princes trembled;—his reward a martyr's crown, unsullied by being sought, and unmarred by being feared. To understand this power we must notice both how he spoke and what he uttered. Gregory Nazianzen was a great orator, but somehow we think of him as posing for effect. Chrysostom's eloquence was

the natural outflow of his soul. His oratory can not better be characterized than in these words of Cardinal Newman: "Great as was his gift of oratory, it was not by the fertility of his imagination, or the splendor of his diction, that he gained the surname of 'Mouth of Gold.' We shall be very wrong if we suppose that fine expressions, or rounded periods, or figures of speech, were the credentials by which he claimed to be the first doctor of the East. His oratorical power was but the instrument by which he readily, gracefully, adequately expressed—expressed without effort and with felicity—the keen feelings, the living ideas, the earnest practical lessons which he had to communicate to his hearers. He spoke because his heart, his head, were brimful of things to speak about. His elocution corresponded to that strength and flexibility of limb, that quickness of eye, hand, and foot, by which a man excels in manly games or in mechanical skill. It would be a great mistake, in speaking of it, to ask whether it was Attic or Asiatic, terse or flowing, when its distinctive praise was that it was natural. His unrivaled charm, as that of every really eloquent man, lies in his singleness of purpose, his fixed grasp of his aim, his noble earnestness."

But fervent speech, with golden tongue, yet needed, for power, an authoritative message. This Chrysostom always found in the Scriptures, his masterly use of which, learned from Diodorus, was far more to him than all the arts of Libanius. Straightforward and practical in his expositions, making the meaning so plain that the simplest

might understand, he then drove home the truth with the authority of God, and summoned men before the bar of the Almighty to answer for their disobedience.

Translations of many of the homilies, and of the treatise on the Priesthood, fortunately make this author more accessible than are most of the Greek fathers.

HOMILIES.

Under this head may be included the greater part of Chrysostom's voluminous works. The homilies examine and comment upon a large part of the Scriptures, besides treating of many individual points of morals and doctrine.

Homilies upon Entire Books.

GENESIS.—The sixty-seven homilies upon this book are rather of the nature of commentaries than sermons. They interpret the text literally, their subjects being commonly the various examples of virtue and vice contained in the history. The style is plain in comparison with that of most of Chrysostom's sermons. In addition to this series there are extant nine other homilies upon various passages in Genesis.

PSALMS.—These, too, are of the hermeneutical order. They are sixty in number and treat upon nearly half of the psalter. They follow the Septuagint version, but make frequent references to the differences of ancient versions, and sometimes quote the Hebrew text. Besides these plainer homilies upon the text, we have a number of more elaborate discourses upon particular passages of the Psalms.

MATTHEW.—The number of these is ninety. They were preached at Antioch, and, as is generally

supposed, in the latter part of his ministry there. Their main object is moral. Their plan is to search out the meaning and application of particular passages, and then to conclude with a stirring exhortation to some particular virtue. Some of the most noteworthy appeals are in favor of alms-giving, which virtue was given a very exalted estimate by Chrysostom. He also opposes the theatres, praises the monks, and attacks heresies, particularly the Anomœan and Manichæan.

In the fifty-fifth homily we find quoted the following form of grace before meat which was used in one of the monasteries near Antioch. It is characteristic of Chrysostom that he commends this particularly for its ending, because it puts men in mind of the judgment, at a time when they are too apt to become dissipated.

Extract.

"Blessed God who feedest me from my youth up, who givest food to all flesh, fill our hearts with joy and gladness, that always having all-sufficiency, we may abound unto every good work in Christ Jesus our Lord: with whom be unto Thee glory, honor, and might, with the Holy Ghost, forever. Amen. Glory to Thee, O Lord, glory to Thee, O Holy One, glory to Thee, O King, that Thou hast given us meat to make us glad. Fill us with the Holy Ghost, that we may be found well pleasing before Thee, not being ashamed when Thou renderest to every man according to his works."—*Hom. lv.*

JOHN.—Eighty-seven homilies are devoted to the fourth Gospel. Compared with those on Matthew, they are shorter and more controversial. They were delivered at Antioch, to select audiences, early in the day. The doctrinal arguments are directed chiefly against the Anomœans, who held

that the Son was not born of like substance with the Father. The rhetorical connection of the sentiments and arguments of the text is traced with much ingenuity. Among other exhortations is urged (Hom. xviii) the duty of Christians to be able to defend their faith with arguments. As in all his preaching, Chrysostom here urges (see extract) the terrible nature of retribution as a motive to right action.

Extract.

"What are we if we fail of that spectacle, if no one grant us then to behold our Lord? If thou who seest not the light of the sun endure a life more bitter than death, what is it likely that they who are deprived of that light must suffer? For in the one case the loss is confined to this one privation; but in the other it does not rest here; . . . for he who beholds not that light must not only be led into darkness, but must be burned continually and waste away and gnash his teeth and suffer ten thousand other dreadful things. Let us not permit ourselves, then, by making this brief time a time of carelessness and remissness, to fall into everlasting punishment; but let us do all things and make it all our business to attain to that felicity, and to keep far from that river of fire which rushes with a loud roaring before the terrible judgment-seat. For he who has once been cast in there must remain forever: there is no one to deliver him from his punishment, not father, nor mother, nor brother. . . . Revolving these things, then, and reflecting upon them continually, let us cleanse our life and make it lustrous, that we may see the Lord with boldness, and obtain the good things promised, through the grace and loving-kindness of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom and with whom, to the Father and the Holy Spirit, be glory for ever and ever! Amen."—*Hom. xii.*

ACTS.—These fifty-four homilies are the least finished of any of Chrysostom's discourses. They were evidently written out by another hand, from notes made at their delivery, and were not revised by the preacher. They give a full exposition of the historical sense, and are marked by their just appreciation of the rhetorical elements in the apostolic discourses. Their teachings are no less valuable than those of the more finished homilies. The series is noteworthy as being the only one of its kind extant from the first ten centuries.

THE EPISTLES.—We have several series of homilies, aggregating two hundred and twenty-one, upon all the Pauline Epistles, including Hebrews, excepting Galatians. Upon this last epistle there is a commentary. A noteworthy passage is selected from one of the homilies on Colossians.

Extract.

"Wait for no other teacher; thou hast the word of God. There is no teacher like it. Other teachers often conceal much, from vanity and envy. Hear this, ye men of the world, and provide yourselves with Bibles, as dispensaries for the health of your souls! Ignorance of the Holy Scriptures is the cause of all evils. If we go unarmed to the battle, how shall we escape? Throw not everything upon us: ye are sheep intrusted to us for guidance; yet are ye not irrational creatures, but sheep that are endowed with the gift of reason. . . . The grace of God has so ordered it that these books should be composed by publicans, fishermen, tent-makers, and shepherds, simple and illiterate men, in order that no ignorant person might resort to such an excuse, but that what was said might be understood by all, so that artisans, servants, widows, and the most uninstructed, might be able to profit

by it. Take the Bible in thy hand; hold fast that which thou understandest; ruminate over those parts that are at present dark to thee; and if by repeated reading thou canst not discover the meaning, then go to the teacher and ask guidance."—*Hom. ix. on Colossians.*

A writer of the seventeenth century (Du Pin, English translation, 1693) thus comments upon the introductory commentaries and concluding exhortation of these homilies: "In the commentary he gives a reason of the contents of the Gospel, examines all the circumstances thereof, weighs the words, and discovers in those places which seem most plain great numbers of fine things, to which no attention would have been given had he not taken notice of them. He keeps still to the literal sense, and of all explications he always chooses not the most subtle but the most natural. He seeks for no allegorical or figurative sense. He useth no far-fetched notions to prove his opinions; avoids all entangled and hard questions, contenting himself to make clear and useful observations upon the history and upon the text of St. Paul. He gives a perfect light to all the places of this apostle's epistles which seem most difficult, and particularly to those which are thought to speak of predestination and of grace. His expositions remove all that which at the first view makes them appear terrible and fearful. Everywhere God is represented as a good and merciful being, and willing to save all men, and who affords them all necessary means of salvation. Men are exhorted to answer that call of God, since it is their own fault if they be not saved, for those that are damned damn themselves. He tells them often that God requireth no impossible thing of them; that with God's help they may keep the commandments and practice virtue. . . .

"All the exhortations that conclude St. Chrys-

ostom's homilies are ordinarily about certain points of morality, as about the fear that men ought to stand in of God's judgments, the necessity of repentance, the contempt of riches, forgiving of enemies, humility, abstraction of the heart from worldly things, diligent meditation upon the holy Scriptures and God's laws, an abhorrence of plays and shows, charity toward the poor, alms and hospitality, brotherly reproof, the duties of husbands to their wives, of parents to their children, of masters to their servants, of laymen toward their pastors, patience in afflictions, that holiness wherewith men should come to the sacraments, the benefit of prayer and the conditions required therein, of fasting and the advantages of a monastical and solitary life, assiduity in divine offices, attention to preaching, sobriety, purity, modesty, meekness, clemency, contempt of death, and many other like subjects, which he handleth with such familiar and yet such solid and convincing reasons that there are no discourses more capable of inspiring notions of piety and virtue. He does not go about, as most preachers do, to set forth studied notions which direct the understanding, but do not touch the heart. He goes to the bottom of things, searches the secret folds of man's heart, and, not contented to have discovered and described vice, he begets a horror of it; he sets forth the most powerful motives to deter Christians from it, and the most proper means to correct it and to practice true and solid virtue. He stretches nothing too far, but distinguishes exactly the matter of a precept from the advice therein contained. He is neither too meek nor too severe; he is neither too familiar nor keeps too much distance; never complies beyond what is meet, nor terrifies to discouragement: in a word, his exhortations are an excellent pattern of preaching to the people."

Homilies upon Particular Passages.

From the numerous sermons of this class, most of which are upon New Testament passages, we give almost entire the homily on the Talents, it being a characteristic discourse.

On the Parable of the Talents (Matt. xviii).

"Therefore is the kingdom of heaven likened unto a certain king which would take account of his servants." Let us not pass lightly over these words, but pause over that rigorous judgment which is to take place. Entering into thy conscience, examine whatsoever deeds thou hast done in thy whole life, and as the account is here given of the king who would take account of his servants, picture to yourself all men gathered at the feet of the sovereign Judge—kings, emperors, generals, governors, rich and poor, bond and free—for "we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ," says the apostle. If thou art rich, reflect that thou wilt have to render an account of thy wealth: whether thou hast expended it upon courtesans, flatterers, and parasites, or upon making glad the poor; whether in the service of luxury or in doing good; whether upon the pleasures of the table or for the solace of the afflicted. Thou wilt have to respond not only as to the use of thy possessions, but also concerning their acquirement. Hast thou gained these by honest toil, or by violence and craftiness? Are they a heritage from ancestors, or dost thou enjoy them at the cost of despoiling the widow and the orphan? God will do toward us as we have done toward our servants: we compel them to account to us, not only for the money which they have spent, but also for what they have received—of whom, how, and when they received it. The poor man also must give account of his poverty, whether he

has borne it with courage and resignation, or with murmurs and complaints against the divine Providence which has left him in straits, side by side with the rich reveling in opulence and pleasure. Has he himself obeyed the precept concerning alms-giving? for no one is absolved, not even the poor, as witness that poor widow of the Gospel who gave only two mites, and whose modest offering surpassed the bounty of the rich.

Magistrates and judges will also be compelled to give account of their administration: whether they have corrupted justice by giving decrees through favor or prejudice, have surrendered it to the seductions of flattery, and have abused their authority to condemn the innocent. Ministers at the altar too will be examined with no less severity. They above all must experience a most rigorous inquiry. Charged with the keeping of the holy word, they will have to answer as to whether they have left their people ignorant of anything which it concerned them to know; whether they have suffered any negligence in their teaching; whether they have faithfully practiced what they preached. Even more particularly must the bishop, from the pre-eminence of his dignity, render account of the instruction of his people, of the care of the poor, of his ordination, and of all the details of his ministry. We shall be asked not only as to our actions but also as to our words, as to the part we have taken in slanderous and calumniating conversations, even as to our thoughts. The apostle advises of this, saying, "Therefore judge nothing before the time until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will manifest the counsels of the heart."

Apply, then, the parable to all ages, conditions, and sexes. Think upon that dreadful judgment! Recall all the sins of thy life. They may be effaced

from thy memory; they are always present to the eye of God, unless thou hast expiated them by penitence, confession, and sincere conversion. Why will he cause us to give account? Not that he who knows all things before they come to pass is ignorant of our works; but to convince thee, his servant, that thou legitimately owest thy debt to him; or rather, not simply that thou mayst recognize all thy debts, but that thou mayst pay them. With this purpose it was that he gave to his prophet to proclaim to the house of Israel their iniquities, that they might perceive them, and, above all, correct them.

"And when he had begun to reckon, one was brought unto him which owed him ten thousand talents." . . . Man, when he gets the mastery of his debtor, thinks of him as his prey; he congratulates himself, and neglects no means for making him pay. If the poverty of the debtor makes it impossible for him to obtain anything, he gets his pay out of his person in the bad treatment to which he makes him submit. God does quite the contrary. He leaves nothing undone to set the debtor free. We enrich ourselves with the debts which are paid to us. God is enriched in remitting our debts.

"But forasmuch as he had not to pay." He had nothing to pay? A new proof this of his unfaithfulness. "He had not to pay" means that he was destitute of good works; that he had nothing to compensate for his sins; that he had to redeem him neither good works nor sufferings. As says the apostle, who declares, in connection with good works, that "when a man worketh not but believeth on him who justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness"; and as to tribulations, that "such a man is to be delivered unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that his soul may be saved." This man devoid of all good works was overwhelmed

with the great weight of his iniquity. "But forasmuch as he had not to pay, his lord commanded him to be sold." Nevertheless, the rest of the parable proves that the order was not executed, thanks to the indulgence of the lord. If he had intended to do it, who would have prevented him? Why then command it, if he did not wish to sell him? That he might intimidate him by the threat, might make him a suppliant, and so do him favor. He could without doubt have remitted his debt, pardoned him before being besought by him, before making him give an account; he preferred, however, to make known to him first the greatness of his debt, then to remit it to him entirely. You are to see how harsh and unmerciful he was toward his companion after these menaces to himself and after the pardon which was granted him: what would it have been if the Lord had not employed these means to soften him? The Lord did everything that was possible to subdue the harshness of his soul; if he was not corrected, it was not the fault of the master, but of himself, who refused all the means used for his correction.

"He fell down and worshiped him, saying, Lord, have patience with me and I will pay thee all." . . . Let us all learn, if negligent in praying, what efficacy there is in prayer! The servant had, to bring forward, neither fasting, nor voluntary poverty, nor any sort of merit; but he prays, and this is enough to obtain for himself commiseration. Let us not cease, then, to pray! You have not heard this man so stained with iniquity say, "I am afraid, I dare not speak to my lord; how shall I bring myself to speak to him?" The language, this, of those sinners whom the demon of fear overcomes. Thou art timid, O my brother! for this reason it is that thou shouldst approach, that thou mayst gain confidence. Is he whom thou wouldst

appease a man, that thou shouldst blush to pray to him? No, it is God, who more than thou thyself desires to remit to thee thine offenses; is more intent than thou thyself upon thy salvation. How many proofs has he not given thee? Thou lackest confidence? That, indeed, is the very thing which should give it to thee. The less we think ourselves worthy of grace, the surer we are of obtaining it. To pretend to be just in the eyes of God would be the strangest kind of temerity, and, whatever justice one might have with regard to everything else, this presumption would destroy all merit of it. But to be persuaded that one is the last of men is a real title to justice: witness the Pharisee and the publican. Let us, then, not lose courage; let not the sense of our sins cast us down in dejection; but let us draw nigh to God, cast ourselves at his feet, implore his mercy as the servant did here. Happy had he persevered!—but his conduct was soon to belie itself.

"Then the lord was moved with compassion, and loosed him and forgave him the debt." The servant had asked only for delay; the lord gives to him a full discharge; he has thus obtained more than he asked. This is what led Saint Paul to say, "He who is able to do exceeding abundantly more than we can ask or even think." No, thou knowest not how to imagine all that God is able to do for thee. Have, then, no shame; if thou blushest, let it be only on account of thy sins, but do not despair; do not give up prayer; draw nigh, sinner that thou art, in order to soften thy master and give him occasion to signalize his mercy in the pardon of thy sins. . . .

"But the same servant went out and found one of his fellow-servants, which owed him three hundred pence, and he laid hands on him and took him by the throat, saying, Pay me that thou owest."

Can anything more criminal be conceived? The kindness of his master is still very recent, and already he has forgotten it. You see what advantage there is in preserving the memory of one's sins. If the servant of the gospel had not forgotten his, he would not have become so harsh and so barbarous. Therefore it is that I repeat to you and shall not cease to do so, how useful and necessary it is to have always present to our thought the sins which we have committed, because nothing is more suited to preserve us in the moderation of sweetness and fraternal love. . . . This man forgets both his debt and the favor which had been done to him. His ingratitude makes him cruel, and by his inhumanity he loses all that the divine compassion had availed him. "He laid hands on him and took him by the throat, saying, Pay me that thou owest." He does not say, Pay me a hundred pence: he would have been ashamed to name so small a sum; but, "Pay me that thou owest. And his fellow-servant fell down at his feet and besought him, saying, Have patience with me and I will pay thee all." The same words are used to win him to which he owed his pardon. To grant pardon after he had himself been pardoned was thus a binding obligation rather than an act of generosity. What a difference, again, in the nature of the debt and in the character of the creditors! On the one hand ten thousand talents, on the other a hundred pence; here a lord offended by his servant, there a man of the same condition as the servant. . . .

"So when his fellow-servants saw what was done they were indignant." They are the first to condemn him, Scripture says. The goodness of the lord becomes still more apparent by this. He, having learned what had happened, summons the servant—cites him anew to his tribunal. But, having pronounced sentence, he still deigns to enter into a

discussion. "Thou wicked servant, I forgave thee all that debt." Wicked! when the offense was personal to himself he had not used this term. It is only as the servant shows himself harsh toward his fellow-servant that he is irritated and indignant, in order to teach us that he pardons our offenses toward himself more easily than our sins toward our brethren. . . .

"And his lord was wroth, and delivered him to the tormentors." What, then, more fatal than the spirit of vengeance, since it recalls an act of the divine bounty? What the other sins have not been able to do to the heart of God, hatred against one's neighbor has effected. However, it is written, "The gifts of God are without repentance." Why, then, revoke his favor in this case? Because there is no sin more odious than the spirit of vengeance. Others may find favor; this alone, far from obtaining pardon, causes even those to revive which pardon had effaced. The spirit of vengeance thus produces a double evil: first, that of being inexcusable in the sight of God; again, that of recalling and reproducing all other sins even after they have been pardoned. . . . Let us labor to banish from our hearts all resentment, to conciliate the affections of those whom we might have for enemies, persuaded that neither prayer, nor fasting, nor almsgiving, nor participation in the holy mysteries, nothing, in a word, will be able to defend us in the last day if we have maintained animosity against our neighbor; and that if, on the contrary, we give up our resentment, whatever may be the number of our sins, we may be able to obtain pardon. It is not I who say this, but God himself, who is to judge us. "So, likewise," he says to us in his gospel, "shall my heavenly Father do also unto you if ye from your hearts forgive not every one his brother their trespasses."

Sermons upon Doctrinal Subjects.

These are comparatively few in number, the more noteworthy among them being six sermons against the Jews, six upon the incomprehensible nature of God, against the Anomœans, and a discourse upon consubstantiality.

Moral Discourses.

It is only for convenience that we give this name to a single class of Chrysostom's discourses, for they almost all enforce strenuously some moral obligation. The score or more of homilies, however, which are so designated treat of such topics as penance, fasting, prayer, alms-giving, gluttony, laziness, meekness, despair, etc.

Homilies upon Festival Days and on the Saints.

Among these are sermons upon Christ's nativity, baptism, passion, resurrection, and ascension, upon the Holy Week, and upon Pentecost. The panegyrics embrace one upon all the saints, one upon all the holy martyrs, and about thirty upon various scriptural and later saints and martyrs.

SPECIAL SERMONS.

We have sermons preached when he was made a priest, when he was banished, when he returned from his exile, etc.; but the most celebrated of all these special discourses are the sermons on the statues, of which we give an account.

Sermons on the Statues.

In preaching this series of sermons, Chrysostom found the opportunity of his life for winning men from the world unto God, an opportunity which he

nobly used. Other sermons of his were more carefully elaborated, these being preached in almost daily succession and in the midst of the most distracting scenes; others, like the homilies on John, moved upon a higher plane of thought; but viewed with regard to the true ends of preaching the Word —to reprove, rebuke, and exhort, to comfort and convert—the homilies on the statues were the grandest sermons of the grandest preacher of what was only then ceasing to be a grand age of Christianity. The occasion of these sermons was the throwing down by a mob of the statues of the imperial family in the city of Antioch, and the consequent apprehension of the vengeance of Theodosius upon the city. No public calamity could, in these days of responsible power, be foreboded with such feelings of terror as racked the citizens of Antioch. What Theodosius was capable of doing, and what they might expect from his unrestrained wrath, was shown three years later, when for a seditious offense, he gave over the city of Thessalonica to the fury of barbarian troops, who in three hours butchered seven thousand people. Many of the wealthier citizens fled from what they thought a doomed town. The great mass who remained cowered before the expected blow, which could only be averted by the intercession of the bishop, Flavian, who had hastened to Constantinople to implore the Emperor's mercy. It was now at the beginning of Lent; never was a penitential season more marked with gloom, and never did a Christian preacher meet the demands upon him of such an occasion more worthily than did Chrysostom. The first sermon of the series had been preached a few days before the sedition, and the burden of its exhortation had been the sin of blasphemy to which the Antiochians would seem to have been especially addicted. The heroic treatment which John sug-

gested for the cure of this sin, and the bold claim which he then made, that the Christians were the saving elements in the city, gave promise of the spirit with which he would throw himself into the work of castigating and comforting the afflicted people![1] In the first sermon after the outbreak, he portrays most vividly, in contrast with its former glory, the present desolation of the city. "The forum is deserted; men sit trembling in their houses, with their servants, or are seized and dragged to the courts without ceremony and just as chance directs. The very nature of the air and even the circle of the sun's beams now seem to me to look mournful, and to shine more dimly." Here he could have wished to stop, for his anguished hearers, like the Jews of old time who, while slaving at the mud and bricks, could not listen to Moses as he told them of great things awaiting them, would feel too sad to hear. Nevertheless, his message, he expects, will be as the sun dissipating gloomy clouds, and he will ask their attention. Had they done as he had asked, and rebuked the blasphemy and insolence of the few, the whole city had not now been in terror. "These things I foretold, and they have now actually taken place, and we are paying the penalty of that listlessness. You overlooked the insult that was done unto God. Behold, he hath permitted the Emperor to be insulted, and peril to the utmost to hang over all." Yet even now, "chastised by our present calamity, let us restrain the inordinate madness of these men. Let us shut up their mouths, even as we close up pestiferous fountains; let us turn them to a contrary course, and the evils which have taken hold of the city shall be entirely stopped." The sermon then proceeds upon the subject of riches, from the text, "Charge them that are rich in this world that they be not high-minded." In the beginning of the third homily, Chrysostom encour-

ages the people by foretelling the favorable influence of Flavian upon the emperor. The very appearance of the saint will have power. "He will also call to his aid the season, and bring forward the sacred festival of the Passover, and will remind him of the season when Christ remitted the sins of the whole world. He will exhort him to imitate his Lord. He will also remind him of the parable of the ten thousand talents and the hundred pence. I know the boldness of our father, that he will not hesitate to alarm him from the parable and to say, 'Take heed lest thou also hear it said in that day, O thou wicked servant, I forgave thee, etc.'" After declaring the more than princely dignity of the bishop, and showing that the people's hope is in God, he addresses himself to his work of awakening penitence.[2] Fasting is a true medicine, but it must be rightly used, and is useless except we abstain from sin. Evil and calumnious speaking is to be abjured, for as we judge we shall be judged. But, if we may not thus lift up our tongues against men, how much more heinous is our conduct toward God! Notwithstanding this, what a contrast there is between the forbearance of God and the dreadful punishments now being meted out by the authorities of the city! "Blessed be God," begins homily four, for already the people are flocking from all sides to the church as a refuge from the storm. The exhortation, continued also in the next homily, is mainly upon fortitude and patience, the examples of Job, the three children of Babylon, and the Ninevites being used. Both homilies, as indeed do most in this series, conclude with an appeal against the use of oaths. The subject of the fear of death,[3] which had been brought up in the fifth, is treated further in the sixth homily, and men are urged to fear not them that kill the body but are not able to kill the soul.

Hope is held out that Flavian will succeed with the emperor, and the usual exhortation is given upon oaths. In the several homilies following, the preacher gets entirely away from the present, and discourses upon the truths of revelation and upon various themes of natural theology. Not a few pagans had been driven to the church as the only place where they could now find solace. To these Chrysostom would offer something besides his scathing denunciations of sin, and happy words of consolation. They must know the grounds of his hope, and the scope of the argument upon which he now enters shows that he was laying for them broad and sure foundations upon which they might step forward into the fold. Homily thirteen once more gives a large space to the affairs of the city at the time when the court was sitting to try offenders, and pictures of the misery which Chrysostom had then seen are used to soften the hearts of his hearers. The next discourse treats for the most part of the use of rash vows, enjoining the people therefrom by the examples of Herod,[4] Jephthah, and Saul. At the beginning of the fifteenth, the advantages of fear are set forth, and the happy effect upon the city of their troubles.[5] A scathing rebuke is given the people in the sixteenth, on account of their pusillanimity on the occasion of the entrance into the church of the prefect, a heathen, who had come to assure them against an alarm which had been started in the city. The following discourse speaks of the band of monks who came into the city from the neighboring mountains and met the imperial commissioners, and by their saintly presence compelled their mercy until they should receive further instructions from the Emperor; also of the part that the clergy had borne in the deliverance of the city. After mentioning the humiliation which the Emperor had justly put upon their once proud metropolis, and speaking of the

puerile lamentations over the same which he had heard in the forum, the preacher asserts that the true title of Antioch to greatness is her relations to Christianity: because there first the disciples were called Christians; because of the charity of those early Christians at the time of famine; and because of their zeal to uphold pure doctrines in opposition to Jewish observances. The three succeeding sermons treat of various practical subjects appropriate to the penitential season, such as fasting, sympathy for the afflicted, impatience, swearing, malice—entertaining which we should not communicate—carelessness in devotion, perseverance, and repentance, the twentieth closing with threats of discipline toward those who shall have failed to free themselves entirely from the habit of swearing, before Easter. The last homily, pronounced after the return of Flavian, gives an account of the bishop's mission to the emperor, his reception, his address,[6] and the emperor's magnanimous response. The series concludes with an appeal to the people, in view of such signal blessings, to show the true gladness. "What, therefore, ye did then (when the news of pardon came) in crowning the forum with garlands, in lighting lamps, in spreading couches of green leaves before the shops, and keeping high festival, as if the city had been just now born; this do ye, although in another manner, throughout all time: being crowned not with flowers but with virtue; lighting up throughout your whole souls the luster that is from good works; rejoicing with a spiritual gladness."

EXTRACTS.

1. "But since our discourse has now turned to the subject of blasphemy, I desire to ask one favor of you all, in return for this my address and speech with you: which is, that you will correct on my be-

half the blasphemers of this city. And should you hear any one in the public thoroughfare, or in the midst of the forum, blaspheming God, reproach, rebuke him; and should it be necessary to inflict blows, spare not to do so. Smite him on the face; strike his mouth; sanctify thy hand with the blow, and if any should accuse thee, and drag thee to the place of justice, follow them thither; and when the judge on the bench calls thee to account, say boldly that the man blasphemed the King of angels. For if it be necessary to punish those who blaspheme an earthly king, much more so those who treat him contemptuously. It is a common crime, a public injury, and it is lawful for every one who is willing to bring forward an accusation. Let the Jews and Greeks learn that the Christians are the saviors of the city, that they are its guardians, its patrons, and its teachers. Let the dissolute and the rebellious also learn this: that they may fear the servants of God too; that if at any time they are inclined to utter such a thing, they may look around every way at each other, and tremble even at their own shadows, anxious lest perchance a Christian, having heard what they said, should leap forward and sharply chastise them."—*Hom. i*, 12.

2. "Let us not, then, despair of our safety, but let us pray; let us make invocation; let us supplicate; let us send an embassy to the King that is above with many tears. We have this fast too as an ally, and as an assistant in this good intercession. Therefore, as when the winter is over and the summer is appearing, the sailor draws his vessel to the deep, and the soldier burnishes his arms and makes ready his steed for the battle, and the husbandman sharpens his sickle, and the traveler boldly undertakes long journeys, and the wrestler strips and bares himself for the contest, so, too, when the fast appears, like a kind of spiritual summer, let us

as soldiers burnish our weapons; and as husbandmen, let us sharpen our sickle; and as sailors, let us order our thoughts against the waves of extravagant desires; and as travelers, let us set out on the journey toward heaven; and as wrestlers, let us strip for the contest. . . . Hast thou observed the wrestler? Hast thou observed the soldier? If thou art a wrestler, it is necessary for thee to engage in the conflict naked. If a soldier, it behooves thee to stand armed at all points for the battle. How, then, are both these things possible, to be naked and yet not naked? to be clothed and yet not clothed? How? I will tell thee. Divest thyself of worldly cares, and thou hast become a wrestler. Put on the spiritual armor, and thou hast become a soldier. Strip thyself of worldly thoughts, for the season is one of wrestling. Clothe thyself with a spiritual panoply, for we have a heavy warfare to wage with demons."—*Hom. iii*, 3.

3. "Permit me that I now say to you at a fitting time, 'Brethren, be not children in understanding; howbeit in malice be ye children.' For this is a childish terror of ours, if we fear death, but are not fearful of sin. Little children, too, have a fear of masks, but fear not the fire. On the contrary, if they are carried by accident near a lighted candle, they stretch out the hand without any concern toward the candle and the flame; yet a mask which is utterly contemptible terrifies them, whereas they have no dread of fire, which is really a thing to be afraid of. Just so, we too have a fear of death, which is a mask that might well be despised; but have no fear of sin, which is truly dreadful, and, even as fire, devours the conscience. So that, if we were once to consider what death is, we should at no time be afraid of it. What, then, I pray you, is death? Just what it is to put off a garment. For the body is about the soul as a garment, and after

laying this aside for a short time, by means of death, we shall resume it again with the more splendor. What is death, at most? It is a journey for a season; a sleep longer than usual. So that, if thou fearest death, thou shouldst also fear sleep. If, for those who are dying, thou art pained, grieve for those too who are eating and drinking, for as this is natural so is that. Let not natural things sadden thee; rather let things which arise from an evil choice make thee sorrowful. Sorrow not for the dying man; but sorrow for him who is living in sin."—*Hom. v*, 3.

4. "Wherefore it is necessary for me again to have recourse to the same entreaty that I made before. For lately I besought you that each one taking the head of John, just cut off and the warm blood dropping from it, you would thus go home and think that you saw it before your eyes, while it emitted a voice, and said, 'Abhor my murderer, the oath!' What a rebuke did not effect, this oath effected; what a tyrant's wrath was insufficient for, this, the necessity of keeping an oath, brought about. And when the tyrant was publicly rebuked in the hearing of all, he bore the censure nobly; but when he had thrown himself into the fatal necessity caused by oaths, then he cut off that blessed head. This same thing, therefore, I entreat; and cease not entreating that wherever we go, we go bearing this head, and that we show it to all, crying aloud as it does and denouncing oaths. For, although we were never so listless and remiss, yet, beholding the eyes of that head fearfully glaring upon us, and threatening us if we swear, we should be more powerfully kept in check by this terror than by any curb, and be easily able to restrain and curb the tongue from its inclination toward oaths." —*Hom. xiv*, 1.

5. "Seest thou what advantage is come of fear?

If fear were not a good thing, fathers would not have set schoolmasters over their children, nor lawgivers magistrates for cities. What can be more grievous than hell? Yet nothing is more profitable than the fear of it: for the fear of hell will bring us the crown of the kingdom. Where fear is, there is no envy; where fear is, the love of money does not disturb; where fear is, anger is quenched, evil concupiscence is repressed, and every unreasonable passion is exterminated. And even as in a house where there is always a soldier under arms, no robber, nor house-breaker, nor any such evil-doer will dare to make his appearance, so also, while fear holds possession of our minds, none of the unruly passions will readily attack us, but all fly off and are banished, being driven away in every direction by the power of fear. And not only this advantage do we gain from fear, but also another which is far greater. For not only, indeed, does it expel our evil passions, but it also introduces every kind of virtue with great facility. When fear exists, there is zeal in alms-giving, and intensity of prayer, and tears warm and frequent, and groans fraught with compunction. For nothing so swallows up sin, and makes virtue to increase and flourish, as the nature of a perpetual dread. Therefore, it is impossible for him who does not live in fear to act aright; as, on the other hand, it is impossible that the man who lives in fear can go wrong.

"Let us not, then, grieve, beloved, let us not despond on account of the present tribulation, but let us admire the well-devised plan of God's wisdom. For by these very means through which the devil hoped to overturn our city, hath God restored and corrected it. The devil animated certain lawless men to treat the statues of the emperor contemptuously, in order that the very foundations of the city might be razed. But God employed

this same circumstance for our greater correction, driving out all sloth by the dread of the expected wrath, and the thing has turned out directly opposite to what the devil wished, by the means which he had himself prepared. For our city every day becomes more purified, and the lanes, and crossings, and places of public concourse are freed from lewd and effeminate songs, and turn where we will there are supplications, and thanksgivings, and tears, instead of rude laughter; there are words of sound wisdom, instead of obscene language, and our whole city has become a church, the workshops being closed, all being engaged throughout the day in these general prayers, and calling upon God with much earnestness with one united voice. What preaching, what admonition, what counsel, what length of time had ever availed to accomplish these things?"—*Hom. xv*, 1.

6. "And as soon as he came to that great city, and had entered the royal palace, he stood before the emperor at a distance—speechless, weeping, with downcast eyes—covering his face, as if he himself had been the doer of all the mischiefs; and this he did, wishing first to incline him to mercy by his posture, and aspect, and tears, and then to begin an apology on our behalf; since there is but one hope of pardon for those who have offended, which is to be silent, and to utter nothing in defense of what has been done. For he was desirous that one feeling should be got rid of, and that another should take its place; that anger should be expelled, and sadness introduced, in order that he might thus prepare the way for the words of his apology. . . . The emperor, therefore, when he saw him shedding tears, and bending toward the ground, himself drew near, and what he really felt, on seeing the tears of the priest, he made evident by the words he addressed to him; for they were not those of a per-

son provoked or inflamed, but of one in sorrow; not of one enraged, but rather dejected, and under constraint of extreme pain."

[The emperor pleaded his benefactions to the city and his declared purpose to visit it, and urged that he had not deserved such unkind treatment. The bishop responded in words from which the following are taken:]

"We must confess, O emperor, this love which you have shown toward our country. We can not deny it. On this account especially we mourn that, thus beloved as she was, the demons should have envied her, and that we should have appeared ungrateful toward her benefactor, and have provoked her ardent lover. And although you were to overthrow, although you were to burn, although you were to put to death, or whatever else you might do, you would never yet have taken on us the revenge we deserve. We ourselves have, by anticipation, inflicted on ourselves a thousand deaths. For what can be more bitter than when we are found to have unjustly provoked our benefactor, and one who loved us so much, and the whole world knows it and sets us down for the most monstrous ingratitude? . . .

"But yet, O emperor, if you are willing, there is a remedy for the wound, and a medicine for these evils, mighty as they are. Often, indeed, has it occurred among private individuals that great and insufferable offenses have become a foundation for great affection. Thus also did it happen in the case of our kind. For when God made man, and placed him in paradise, and held him in much honor, the devil could not bear this his great prosperity, and envied him, and cast him out from that dignity which had been granted. But God was so far from forsaking him that he even opened heaven to us instead of paradise, and in so doing both showed

his own loving-kindness and punished the devil the more severely. So, now, also do thou! The demons have lately used all their efforts, that they may effectually rend from your favor that city which was dearest of all to you. Knowing this, then, demand what penalty you will, but let us not become outcasts from your former love!"—*Hom. xxii.*

TREATISES.

The treatises of Chrysostom are few compared with his discourses, and with one exception are of minor importance. This exception is his celebrated work on the priesthood.

Chrysostom on the Priesthood.

The work, which is in six books, is arranged in the form of a dialogue between Chrysostom and his friend Basil. The friendship of these two had been very intimate, and Basil, in order to have more of the companionship of Chrysostom, who at that time frequented the courts and the stage, proposed that they take up a common residence. This Chrysostom's mother strongly opposed, urging how much need she, a widow, had of her son's company. While this question was pending, it was rumored that both the friends were to be ordained to the priesthood, a report which awakened in Chrysostom great fear and perplexity. Nevertheless, when his friend came to consult about it, he led him to think that he should not avoid ordination, lest Basil also should refuse, and through this deception Basil was ordained, while Chrysostom was not. When all was known, Basil was in great grief over his friend's desertion; but he passed over his personal grievance in his great anxiety to obtain from Chrysostom some answer which he might make to the charges which men were making that he, a strip-

ling, had shown arrogance and contumely in rejecting an office which older and wiser men might have coveted. First answering for the deception of his friend, Chrysostom says that, it being to Basil's profit, such deceit was justifiable, since the evil of deceit is not in the act but in the intent. "For deceit, when well-timed and practiced with a right intention, is so profitable that many have often been punished because they have not circumvented." This principle he endeavors to sustain by illustrations from military and medical practice, and also from Scripture examples.

Book II. Chrysostom claims that by his course Basil has been led to give evidence of his love for Christ, for said the Lord to Peter, "Lovest thou me?" and when he assented, then said he, "Feed my sheep." This work of feeding the sheep can be intrusted only to men who are pre-eminent over their fellows. "Let the distance between the pastor and his charge be as great as the difference between rational men and irrational creatures, that I say not even greater; because the danger affects much greater interests." This because the loss to one who loses his sheep is the loss of his own soul, and because his enemies are very terrible. The priest must be able to discern men's infirmities, and, using persuasion, not force, he must not be too tender nor yet too severe, so holding the high-spirited and winning back the scattered sheep. Basil asking if, then, Chrysostom does not love Christ, he replies that he does, but that, through his weakness, he is incompetent for such a high trust; unskillful, he would have done harm. His friend, on the other hand, he says, has the requisite love, which is the distinctive Christian mark, and also the needed prudence. As to slights given to men by his refusal of ordination, Chrysostom claims that he has no need to give account to men when it

is a question of offending God. Still he has not slighted, but has the rather honored them, by saving them from charges that, passing over mature and devoted men of humble rank in the church, they had from selfish motives laid hands upon mere boys fresh from secular life.

Book III. As to arrogance in declining the priesthood, Chrysostom declares the charge absurd; for he deems the priesthood of as much greater dignity than a kingship as the spirit is greater than the flesh. As well might one charge human nature with pride in not aspiring to the dignity of angels. The priestly office, though exercised on earth, was instituted of the Paraclete, and is a tremendous trust.[1] The dignity of a priest, as a minister of grace, is above that of archangels. For the priest binds and looses; eternal life and the escape from Gehenna are made dependent upon him.[2] Even Paul was fearful, in view of the greatness of his rule. What ought not I, incompetent, to fear! The loss to be incurred by the unworthy is not of property but of souls, in the abyss of fire. Then, in these times, when so many madly rush into the office from vain-glory, one to be fitted for the office should be free from desire for place, which I am not. A priest, too, should be sober-minded, clear-sighted, myriad-eyed, whereas I am sluggish; I should, too, be prone to anger under trials, and all are ready to see at once the failings of a priest and to thrust him down. Besides, a priest has a difficult task in deciding upon the promotion of others to office; in caring for widows, and dispensing the treasures of the church, so that they may not accumulate and may not waste; in the watch-care of virgins, and in exercising the office of judge.

Book IV. "Had you rushed into the ministry of yourself," says Basil, "you might then have been fearful." "Nay," responds his friend, "the not de-

siring the office will be no excuse, as witness the case of Saul and others. Those who hastily ordain others are truly without excuse, for they do not so buy a slave. Still their guilt will not excuse the one ordained. And how great is the trust of a church of Christ! A minister must have great powers for public discourse, must be able to understand and repel all heresies, and must know how to divert men from unprofitable reasonings." "But Paul," says Basil, "confesses himself to be mean of speech." "Were this so," Chrysostom answers, "he had miraculous gifts to sustain him; but he was not without great power in speech, for he was abundantly skilled in doctrine. His eloquence appears everywhere in his speeches and his epistles."

Book V. Great labor must be given by the preacher to preparing his discourse, and he must learn to despise applause. He must not be wholly unmindful of criticism, nor must he unduly fear it. The learned even more than the unlearned must be diligent, as so much is demanded of them. One should not be too much dejected by the want of appreciation by the ignorant. Only let him prepare his discourse with a sole view to serving God, and forego applause.

Book VI. The watchman set to guard the people will be responsible for their sins. "The soul of the priest should be purer than the very solar rays, that the Holy Spirit may never leave him desolate, and that he may be able to say, 'I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.'" He must be more circumspect than monks, as his charge is so much greater. He has not only himself but the world to care for. What a man should he not be to pray for the world![3] To exercise this office one must be, not indeed a worldling, but one having such a knowledge of the world that he can preserve himself in his integrity. In the exercise of his duties

no part must be neglected. The women as well as the men must be conversed with, consoled, and rebuked. Nor must one subject himself without explanation to any suspicion of evil: for even Paul took precautions against being called a thief. "But," says Basil, "do you, who have avoided this office, think you can save yourself without trying to save others?" "Truly not," is the reply, "yet my peril is not now so great since I do not imperil the souls of others. In my retirement, too, I am measurably secure from the outbreak of my passions. But, beyond all these considerations, my shrinking is from the grief which it would have given me to see the Church of God in unworthy hands. That were like one, espoused to the fair daughter of a king, seeing her married to a base and contemptible servant. It were like the intrusting of a great military and naval armament, confronted by fierce and powerful enemies, to the command of a country stripling. For me to have taken this trust would have been to become a general for the devil. But why, my friend, do you weep? I am rather to be congratulated." "Yes," replies Basil, "but I? How shall I answer for myself? You, who led me into this place, do not now abandon me." "I will be true to you," says Chrysostom, "and encourage you amid your cares, and I shall hope that through your boldness in the ministry you may receive me also into your eternal tabernacle if I am in danger at that day."

EXTRACTS.

1. "The priestly office is discharged upon earth, but holds the rank of heavenly things, and very rightly so. For not man, nor angel, nor archangel, nor any other created power, but the Paraclete himself instituted this order, and induced those who yet abode in the flesh to make manifest the minis-

try of angels. Wherefore it behooves him that is consecrated to be pure as one who stands in heaven itself among those powers.

"For when you behold the Lord sacrificed and prostrate, and the priest standing over the sacrifice and praying, and all stained with that precious blood, do you then suppose you are among men and standing upon earth? are you not immediately transported to heaven? and casting out every carnal idea from your soul, do you not with naked soul and pure mind contemplate things which are in heaven? O the marvel! O the love of God to man! He who sits with the Father on high is at that moment held in the hands of all, and gives himself to those who are willing to embrace him and receive him, and then all do this by the eyes [of faith]. Do these things appear to you to be worthy to be despised, or to be such that any one can be lifted up against them?"—*Book III, chap. iv.*

2. "For if no one can enter the kingdom of heaven except he be regenerated by water and the Spirit, and if he who does not eat the flesh of the Lord, and drink his blood, is excluded from eternal life, and if these things are accomplished only by those holy hands, the priests I mean, how will any one be able without them to escape the fire of Gehenna, or to obtain the crowns which are in store?" —*Book III, chap. v.*

3. "What a man ought he to be who is embassador for a whole city—and why do I say for a city? for all the world!—and who prays that God will be propitious to the sins of all men, not of the living only, but of the departed? I do not think the boldness of speech of Moses and of Elijah by any means adequate to such supplication. For he draws nigh to God, as though the whole world were committed to his care, and he himself the father of

all men, praying that wars may be extinguished everywhere, and that troubles may be brought to an end, and entreating for every man peace and prosperity, and speedy deliverance from impending evils, both privately and publicly. And he must in all things excel all for whom he prays, as much as the ruler must excel the ruled.

"If he has invoked the Holy Ghost, and performed that most awful sacrifice, and constantly touched with his hands the common Lord of all, tell me where we shall rank him? What purity and what piety shall we demand of him? for consider what his hands ought to be which minister these things! what his tongue which utters such words! and what should be so pure and holy as his soul which receives so great a Spirit!

"Angels are there present with the priest, and the whole tribune and space around the altar is filled with heavenly powers in honor of him that is there."—*Book VI, chap. iv.*

LETTERS.

The extant letters of Chrysostom, two hundred and twenty-five in number, were written during his exile, and are chiefly letters of friendship. Among them, however, is a circular letter addressed to the bishops of Rome, of Milan, and of Aquileia, bespeaking their good offices toward securing a new and fair judgment upon his cause. There is also a series of seventeen letters to one Olympias, a widow, in which he gives an account of his persecutions.

Principal Works.

HOMILETICAL: The principal sermons have already been described. TREATISES: "Six Books of the Priesthood"; three books "In Defense of a Monastic Life"; a "Comparison of a Monk with a Prince"; two books

"Of Compunction of Heart"; three books "Of Providence"; a book "Of Virginity"; two exhortations "To Theodorus," in which he urges this person to return from a secular to a retired life; a few minor works; LETTERS: two hundred and twenty-five, written in exile.

SYNESIUS.

A PLATONIC philosopher of Cyrene, Synesius was converted and, in 420, chosen bishop of Ptolemais, the chief city of the Pentapolis. He was with difficulty persuaded to take the office, urging his philosophic habits and his unfitness for administrative duties, as well as his dissent from some of the beliefs of the Church. Besides holding the Origenistic belief in the pre-existence of souls, and some other peculiar doctrines, he did not believe in the resurrection of the dead in the literal sense in which this doctrine was held by the Church. Notwithstanding this dissent, and his unwillingness to leave his wife, the churches felt so much the need of his strength that he was ordained, and he became a bishop whose integrity and faithfulness was unsurpassed. His few treatises are rather philosophical and rhetorical than theological. They are a very frank discourse "Of Reigning well," pronounced before the Emperor Arcadius; a discourse in praise of philosophy and astronomy, and another defending the study of poetry and rhetoric; an ingenious work entitled "The Praise of Baldness"; two books "Of Providence," containing a romance of two brothers, Osiris and Tytion, kings of Egypt; and a book "On Dreams." We have also numer-

ous letters of Synesius, a few of which are upon ecclesiastical subjects, and ten hymns or odes. We give the more space to this poetry, since Mrs. Browning has recorded her opinion that Synesius was "the chief, for true and natural gifts, of all our Greek Christian poets." The spirit and style of the odes may be gathered from the following close rendering by Mrs. Browning of a part of the ninth:

ODE.

"Well-beloved and glory-laden,
Born of Solyma's pure maiden!
I would hymn thee, blessed Warden,
Driving from thy Father's garden
Blinking serpent's crafty lust,
With his bruisèd head in dust!
Down thou camest, low as earth,
Bound to those of mortal birth;
Down thou camest, low as hell,
Where shepherd-death did tend and keep
A thousand nations like to sheep,
While weak with age, old Hades fell
Shivering through his dark to view thee!
And the dog did backward yell,
With jaws all gory, to let through thee!
So, redeeming from their pain
Choirs of disembodied ones,
Thou didst lead whom thou didst gather,
Upward in ascent again,
With a great hymn to the Father
Upward to the pure white thrones!
King, the demon tribes of air
Shuddered back to feel thee there!
And the holy stars stood breathless,
Trembling in their chorus deathless;
A low laughter fillèd ether—

Harmony's most subtle sire
From the seven strings of his lyre,
Stroked a measured music hither—
Io pæan! victory!"

THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA,

An illustrious victim of a hypercritical orthodoxy. Like Chrysostom, with whom he was a fellow-pupil of Libanius and afterward of Diodorus, Theodore was the son of an Antiochian family of high station. Made a priest, he won the applause of his native city and, later, of Tarsus, by his learning and eloquence. About A. D. 390 he was chosen bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia, which see he held until his death, about A. D. 427. He is said to have been a teacher of Nestorius, and also to have ordained him; but, whether or not this was true, he belonged to the same school of thought with Nestorius and Theodoret. His writings were numerous, embracing commentaries on nearly the entire Scriptures, besides voluminous treatises upon doctrinal and polemical subjects. What Chrysostom did for the right interpretation of Scripture by homilies, that and more Theodore did by his commentaries and by his treatise "Of History and Allegory against Origen." His writings, more than any one's else save Theodoret's, put an end to the extravagances of Scripture allegorizing. But Theodore was to be placed by posterity, not by the side of Chrysostom, but of Nestorius and Theodoret. Whereas the cloud resting upon Chrysostom at his

death was changed by the next generation into a halo of glory, four generations after Theodore's death his person and writings were formally condemned as heretical. This was done first by an edict of the Emperor Justinian and then by the Fifth General Council. The ostensible ground of this action was certain suggestions of heresy in his writings, which, however, were so meager that they had been passed over by his own contemporaries. The real cause of the condemnation was the rancorous spirit of the monophysite party, which had chafed many years under the action of the Council of Chalcedon, and now, having gained a temporary influence through the intrigues of the empress, was eager to brand the memory of all who had been in any way allied with Nestorius. Owing, probably, to this condemnation, the works of Theodore are almost entirely lost. But the narrow horizon of Justinian and the ecclesiastics of the sixth century was not forever to bound the Church, and modern scholars would gladly exchange whole alcoves of the monkish lore of his late enemies for the works of this Antiochian exegete.

THEOPHILUS.

"A GOOD politician, but an ill author." He obtains special mention only as the enemy of Chrysostom, and uncle and trainer of Cyril. Made bishop of Alexandria, A. D. 385, he abolished the last traces of idolatry in that city by pulling down the remaining temples and idols. His principal writ-

ings were a treatise against Origen, a book against the Anthropomorphites, and a treatise for the monks of Scitha against Chrysostom, all of which are lost. We have of his works only a few letters and fragments.

CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA,

THE Anathematizer. Inheriting the spirit of his uncle with his office, Cyril marked his accession to the see of Alexandria, in 412, by seizing upon the churches and church property of the Novatians. Soon afterward, the Jews of the city having done some wrong to the Christians, he put himself at the head of a mob of infuriated monks, who assaulted the synagogues and then sacked and plundered the whole Jewish quarter, driving many thousands of the Jews from the city. A quarrel with Orestes, the governor, ensued, in the course of which the latter was set upon in the streets by a multitude of monks, and only escaped by the opportune intervention of some of the people. One of the monks, who had wounded Orestes with a stone, was put to death on the rack, whereupon he was immediately canonized by Cyril as a saint and a martyr. But this was not the worst. Hypatia, the celebrated teacher of philosophy in Alexandria, was a friend of Orestes, and it was suspected that she encouraged his animosity toward Cyril. Accordingly, the mob from which he had escaped attacked her in the streets. Socrates says: "Observing her, as she returned home in her carriage, they dragged her from it and carried her to the church called Cæsareum,

where they completely stripped her, and then murdered her with shells. After tearing her body in pieces, they took her mangled limbs to a place called Cinaron and there burned them." This atrocious outrage, for which Cyril was, at the least indirectly, responsible, gives a key to the spirit with which Cyril dealt with those who opposed him. It explains his malignant hostility to Nestorius. The latter having declined to accept the doctrine of one nature in Christ, or to approve of the term "Mother of God," Cyril launched against him twelve anathemas. Others at that time dealt in anathemas, Pope Celestine and Nestorius himself having issued them, but no one breathed them as his native air like Cyril, and, of all ecclesiastical haters, none so merits the name of the Anathematizer. At the Council of Ephesus, he proceeded against Nestorius without waiting for the arrival of the Eastern bishops, and afterward he would listen to no compromise which did not involve Nestorius's condemnation. But, rapacious, immoderately ambitious, "the worst of heretics against the spread of the gospel," and resolved, as he was, that "if the meek inherit the earth, the violent should have possession of the sees" (!) Cyril was a very distinguished man in his age, and, according to the standards of his day, a great theologian. He aspired to be to the doctrine of the Person of Christ what Athanasius had been to the doctrine of the Trinity. He was, however—deservedly—the last conspicuous representative of the Alexandrian church and theology.

His works, which fill ten volumes of Migne, consist of commentaries, paschal homilies, sermons,

and letters, chiefly against Nestorius, and various theological treatises.

COMMENTARIES.

Besides fragments upon almost every part of Scripture, we have elaborate commentaries on the Pentateuch, on Isaiah, on the twelve minor prophets, and on John. That upon the Pentateuch, entitled "Glaphyra," is of the extreme allegorical order, referring every point of the history and every circumstance or precept in some way to Christ, or to the New Testament. Those upon the prophets are more rational, dealing more with the natural sense of the text. The commentary upon John, which is very full, deals somewhat with the theological topics of the times.

LETTERS.

As mentioned, these are devoted very largely to the Nestorian controversy, but they also refer to most of the ecclesiastical events of Cyril's day. They contain long historical and theological disquisitions, sent out for the enlightenment of various of the bishops, or of the clergy or people of Alexandria. One of these letters, which begins, "Cyril and the synod assembled at Alexandria, in the province of Egypt, to their fellow-minister Nestorius, most pious and well-beloved of God, greeting in the Lord," closes with the famous twelve anathemas of Cyril, which are here given.

Cyril's Anathemas against Nestorius.

1. If any one does not confess that Emmanuel is truly God, and that, therefore, the holy Virgin is the Mother of God—since she brought forth according to the flesh the incarnate Word of God—let him be accursed.

2. If any one does not confess that the Word of

God the Father, being hypostatically united to the flesh, is one Christ with his own flesh, the same being at once and indisputably God and man, let him be accursed.

3. If any one divides the hypostases in the one Christ after their union, joining them only with a union according to honor, that is to say by authority or power, and not rather by a natural union, let him be accursed.

4. If any one apportions to two persons or hypostases that which is spoken in the evangelical or apostolical scriptures either by holy men concerning Christ or by him concerning himself, and assigns these to him as man considered separately from the Word of God, and those to him only as the divine Word of God, let him be accursed.

5. If any one dares to say that Christ is a God-bearing man, and not rather the true God, as being the only and natural Son, seeing that the Word truly was made flesh, and, alike with us, has been a partaker of flesh and blood, let him be accursed.

6. If any one dares to say that the Word of God the Father is God or Lord of Christ, and does not the rather confess him at once God and man, the Word having become flesh, according to the Scriptures, let him be accursed.

7. If any one says that as man Jesus was energized by God the Word, and was clothed with the glory of the Only Begotten, as being another than he, let him be accursed.

8. If any one shall dare to say that the manhood assumed ought to be adored *together with* God the Word, and jointly *with* him to be extolled and entitled God, as one in another (for whenever *with* is employed it compels this understanding), and does not the rather adore Emmanuel with a sole honor, and ascribe to him a single doxology, as being the Word become flesh, let him be accursed.

9. If any one says that the one Lord Jesus Christ has been glorified by the Spirit as being endowed with another power than his own, and that having received ability from him, he has power over evil spirits and works miracles among men, and does not the rather say that it is his own Spirit by which he works miracles, let him be accursed.

10. The holy Scriptures declare that Christ was the high-priest and apostle of our confession, and gave himself for us as a sweet-smelling savor unto God the Father. If, therefore, any one says that the Word of God himself did not become our high-priest and apostle when he became flesh and man for us, but that it was another than he, the man born of a woman; or if any one says that for himself also he presented this offering and not for us only (for he who knew no sin had no need of an offering), let him be accursed.

11. If any one does not confess the flesh of the Lord to be life-giving, and appropriate to the Word of God the Father himself, but as belonging to some other than he united with him in honor, that is to say, merely possessing a divine dwelling, and not the rather life-giving as we have said, so that it became appropriate to the Word who is able to give life to all things, let him be accursed.

12. If any one does not confess that the Word of God suffered according to the flesh, in the flesh was crucified, in the flesh tasted of death, and became the first-born from the dead, so that he is the life and as God life-giving, let him be accursed.—*Epistle xvii, Cyril to Nestorius.*

TREATISES.

The principal treatises of Cyril were a "Thesaurus" upon the Trinity; seven dialogues upon the Trinity, and two upon the Incarnation; five

books against Nestorius; an explanation of and an apology for his Twelve Chapters against Nestorius; an apology for Christianity against the attack of the Emperor Julian; and seventeen books "Of God's Worship in the Spirit." The last, which is the most considerable, is deserving of notice as representing the Alexandrian idea of Scripture interpretation. Following is an outline of the work as given by Du Pin:

Of God's Worship in the Spirit.

The work is composed in the form of a dialogue, and its design is to show that the law of Moses, as well as the precepts and all the ceremonies which it prescribes, being understood aright, relate to the adoration of God in spirit and in truth, which the gospel hath discovered. To prove this proposition, the author seeks out all the allegories in the histories of the Old Testament. In the first book he shows that that which happened to Adam, Abraham, and Lot teaches men how they fall into sin, and after what manner they may raise themselves again. The pleasure which allures them is figured by the woman, by the delights of Egypt, by earthly good things; the grace of our Saviour by the calling of Abraham, by the protection which God vouchsafed Lot, by the care which he takes of his people; lastly, repentance, flight from sin, love of virtue, by the actions of the ancient patriarchs. In the second and third, he makes use of several places of the law to show that the fall of man could not be repaired but by the coming of Jesus Christ; that he alone can deliver him from the lamentable consequences of sin, which are death, the tyranny of the devil, an inclination to evil and concupiscence; lastly, that he alone can redeem and justify men. He finds baptism and redemption by Jesus Christ figured in many places of the law and prophets. In the fourth, he uses the exhortations, promises,

and threatenings laid down in the law to incline Christians, whom Jesus Christ hath redeemed, to follow their callings, renounce vice, and embrace virtue. In the fifth, he affirms that the constancy and courage of the ancients in suffering evils and opposing their enemies is a figure of the strength and vigor with which Christians ought to resist their vices and irregular passions. In the sixth, he demonstrates that the law commands the worship and love of one God only, and that it hath condemned all superstitions and profaneness contrary to that worship. In the two following books he also prescribes charity toward our brethren and love toward our neighbor. In the ninth and the tenth, he finds infinite resemblances between the tabernacle and the church. The priesthood of the old law, the consecration of the high-priests, the sacerdotal vestments, the ministry of the Levites, etc., furnish him with abundance of matter for allegories, which he treats of in the three following books. The profane and unclean persons under the law, who were shut out of the tabernacle and temple, are the figure of sinners, which ought to be expelled out of churches, and do teach us that none but those that are pure may present themselves before God. Clean and unclean beasts are the subjects of some allegories, being the subject of the fourteenth and fifteenth books. Lastly, the obligations and sacrifices of the law are types of the spiritual obligations which we ought to offer to God, and the solemn festivals of the Jews denote to us the celestial rewards —this is the subject of the last two books. It is easy to judge, by what we have said, how mystical a work this is, and how full of allegorical and unusual explications. He must needs have an inexhaustible fund of them to furnish out seventeen books so long as these are, which are all along carried on with continual allegories.

NESTORIUS.

An Antiochian by training, Nestorius was, about A. D. 428, made bishop of Constantinople, where he distinguished himself for his zeal against heretics. By publicly rejecting the use of the phrase "Mother of God," as applied to the Virgin Mary, he drew upon himself the hatred and anathemas of Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, who believed in one only nature in Christ, and who now made himself the champion of the rejected phrase. To his anathemas, Nestorius rejoined with counter-anathemas. Out of the controversy came the Council of Ephesus, by which Nestorius was condemned and deposed as a heretic. He at once retired to his old monastery near Antioch. The doctrine which he had supported and on account of which he was condemned—viz., that the Word was united to a human nature in Christ, and that these two natures, being united together, make but one Christ, one Son only, and likewise one Person only, made up of two natures—was an outcome of the Antiochian habit of thought, and his condemnation was against the will of the Eastern bishops. Nevertheless, to effect a peace in the Church, a compromise was at last arranged between John of Antioch and Cyril, the terms of which were that Cyril subscribed a creed written by John, and that John, on behalf of the Eastern bishops, subscribed the condemnation of Nestorius. This abandonment of Nestorius, simply because it seemed politic, was deemed a cruel treachery by some of the bishops, who, rather than approve of it, submitted to be banished. Nes-

torius himself, in 435, was by imperial command banished to the Greater Oasis in Upper Egypt, in which exile, after various sufferings, he died. By an imperial edict, his books were condemned to be burned, and all persons were forbidden to read them. From the few letters and fragments of his writings preserved in the works of others, he would appear to have been a thoroughly orthodox believer, and none claimed that he was not a good man. The annals of religious controversy can not furnish a more shameless abandonment of a man by interested brethren who, at heart, believed as he believed.

THEODORET.

THE "Blessed Theodoret" is the hesitating title which the Church has bestowed upon this father, while granting to his antagonist Cyril the full honors of a saint. Be it so; but men still have their opinions as to the comparative saintliness of the two men, which opinions are not in favor of the saint. Theodoret's name, the "Gift of God," was bestowed by his mother, who received his birth—at Antioch, A. D. 386—as a special answer to prayer, and consecrated him from his infancy to the service of God. As a child he was much under the influence of holy men who had counseled his mother, particularly of a monk, Peter, to whom he was often taken to receive his blessing. We are told that he was entered at the monastery of Euprepius, near Antioch, when only seven years of age; though he would seem to have lived for the most part with his parents until

twenty-three years old. But, if not a constant inmate of this biblical school of Antioch, Theodoret grew up in its atmosphere, and was imbued with the principles of Diodorus, and Theodore, and Chrysostom. After the death of his parents he distributed his fortune to the poor, and went to a monastery at some distance from Antioch. There he remained seven years, when he was made bishop of Cyrus, a small and secluded city on the Euphrates. Though unattractive as a home, his diocese, which included eight hundred villages, gave him abundant room for labors, which he performed with self-sacrificing zeal. Besides discharging faithfully his diocesan duties, both as to spiritual and temporal concerns, he was frequently summoned to Antioch, where he preached with great *éclat* before the most cultivated audiences. But Theodoret is known to the world not so much as Bishop of Cyrus, or as a great preacher, as by the commentaries which he wrote, and for the part which he took, by voice and pen, in the Nestorian controversy. Cyril's twelve chapters and anathemas launched against Nestorius were equally in opposition to the whole Antiochian school, and Nestorius naturally looked to the scholars of Antioch for help. Theodoret was the man for the emergency, and, stepping to the front, he became, above patriarch and metropolitans, the real leader of the Oriental bishops in their opposition to the Egyptians. He wrote a reply to Cyril's chapters, accusing them of Apollinarian heresy. He was one of the bishops at the Council of Ephesus, and among the deputies sent by them to Constantinople. When, later, John of Antioch arranged a

peace with Cyril, Theodoret, while agreeing to the theological settlement, refused to sanction Nestorius's condemnation. Holding a place midway between those who weakly yielded everything to Cyril and those who would yield nothing, he conserved and strengthened the Antiochian spirit, so much needed by the Church, in opposition to the increasing narrowness of Alexandria. For, if Cyril's theology was open to question, that of his successor, Dioscorus, an equally bad man and a far worse theologian, was positively a reproach to the Christian intelligence. In opposition to his monophysite error, Theodoret maintained the broader doctrine of the Church. For this the "Robber-Synod," held at Ephesus in 449, condemned him, and, the civil power concurring, he was deposed from his see. In this emergency, most of his old Antiochian friends being dead, he appealed to Pope Leo for assistance. He gave him his sympathy and aid, and in the Council of Chalcedon (A. D. 451) he was restored to his see. Returning to Cyrus, he continued in quiet, composing his commentaries, until his death in 458.

Theodoret may fairly be called the greatest Greek churchman of his day. In his death the Eastern Church lost its last great writer and theologian. The ecclesiastics who in the next century quarreled over what they did not understand, saw fit, at the fifth general council, to condemn his writings in common with Theodore's, and thus to cast a cloud over his name. It is in consequence of this that the Church has withholden from him the full honors of sainthood. Instead of such a formal canonization, let the Church universal think rever-

ently of him as a self-denying bishop, an able and orthodox theologian, an eloquent preacher, a great expositor of Scripture, and as the chief representative of the Antiochian school of thought in the early Church. Following are described his chief works:

COMMENTARIES.

Photius, the learned critic of the ninth century, who had the whole of the early ecclesiastical literature before him, has thus characterized Theodoret's writings upon the Scriptures: "His language is very proper for a commentary; for he explains in proper and significant terms whatsoever is obscure and difficult in the text, and renders the mind more fit to read and understand it by the pleasantness and elegance of his discourse. He does not weary his reader by long digressions, but on the contrary he labors to instruct him ingeniously, clearly, and methodically in everything that seems hard. He never departs from the purity and elegance of the Attic tongue, if there is nothing that obliges him to speak of abstruse matters to which the ears are not accustomed. For it is certain that he passes over nothing that needs explanation, and it is almost impossible to find any interpreter who unfolds all manner of difficulties better, and leaves fewer things obscure. We may find many others who speak elegantly, and explain clearly, but we shall scarcely find any who have written well, and who have forgotten nothing which has need of illustration, without being too diffuse, nor without running out into digressions, at least such as are not absolutely necessary for clearing the matter in hand. Nevertheless, this is what Theodoret has observed in all his commentaries upon Holy Scripture, in which he has wonderfully well opened the text by his labor and diligent search."

The commentaries are upon nearly the entire Scriptures. Those upon the historical books of the Old Testament, from Genesis to 2 Chronicles, are in the form of questions and answers upon the more difficult passages. The author intended the work, he says, first, to stop the mouth of cavilers by showing that there is neither falsity nor contradiction in Scripture; and, secondly, to content those who are truly inquiring by satisfying their doubts. The first question raised is, Why did not the author of the Pentateuch make a discourse upon the being and nature of God before he spoke of the creation? To which it is answered that he condescended to the weakness of those he had to instruct by speaking first of the creatures which they knew; that he could sufficiently make known the Creator by setting forth his eternity, wisdom, and bounty in the history of creation; and, lastly, that he spoke to persons who already had some idea of God, since Moses had already taught them that he is what he is, a name that signifies eternity. Various questions in regard to angels are considered, and among the answers it is declared that every person has his guardian angel. In answering a question upon the making of man in God's image and likeness, Theodoret cites Diodorus, Theodore, and Origen to prove that the likeness is to be understood not of the body, but of the soul. He also has frequent recourse to the various Greek versions of Scripture and to the Hebrew text as given in Origen's "Hexapla." The comments are ordinarily straightforward explanations of the natural sense of the text. But, in revolting against the old allegorical method, Theodoret was no extremist; and where, as in the sacrifices and ceremonies of the old law, there is a plain foreshadowing of what appears in the law of Christ, he recognizes it and explains it. He also draws instruction as to manners and morals out of

most of the ordinances of Leviticus and Numbers. There is a special preface upon the later historical books which reads quite like the criticisms of modern scholars: "There were many prophets," it says, "who have left us no books, and whose names we learn out of the history of the Chronicles. Every one of these prophets wrote ordinarily what happened in his time. For this reason it is that the first book of Kings is called by the Hebrews and Syrians the prophecy of Samuel. We need only to read it, and we shall be convinced of the truth of this. They, then, that composed the books of Kings wrote them a long time after, from these ancient memoirs. For how could they that lived in the time of Saul or David write that which happened afterward under Hezekiah and Josiah? How could they relate the war of Nebuchadnezzar, the siege of Jerusalem, the captivity of the people, and the death of Nebuchadnezzar? It is, then, apparent that every prophet wrote what passed in his own time, and that others, making a collection of their memoirs, have composed the books of Kings. And after these came other historiographers, who made a collection of what the first had forgotten, of which they composed the two books of Chronicles."

In the preface upon the Psalms, Theodoret gives his idea of what a commentary ought to be, and says that "we ought to know above all things that a prophecy is not designed only to foretell what shall happen, but also to be a history of what is present and past; since Moses has written a history of the creation, not from the records of men, but by the inspiration of the Spirit, wherein he speaks of what happened in his own time, as the plagues of Pharaoh, and foretells things to come, as the advent of Jesus Christ."

The Song of Songs is construed spiritually, the preface, after a somewhat extended apology for the

book, saying, "We do nothing extraordinary, then, when we understand the Song of Songs spiritually, and so much the rather because the apostle has expounded who is the bridegroom and the spouse spoken of in this book. Jesus Christ himself is called the bridegroom; the spouse is his Church; her companions are the souls who are not yet perfect enough to be spouses of Jesus Christ; they that converse with the bridegroom are either the prophets or apostles, or more likely the angels."

A commentary upon Isaiah is lost, but we have books upon all the other prophets.

The writings upon the New Testament embrace all the Epistles of Paul, and have been thought to excel all the other commentaries of Theodoret in solidity and elegance. Theodore and Chrysostom having already written upon these books, Theodoret explains that he makes use of their writings, that, in fact, he does nothing more than abridge the works of others. This is literally true of his use of Chrysostom, whose commentaries he abridges by simply cutting off the moral reflections.

HISTORICAL WRITINGS.

Ecclesiastical History.

Next after his fame as a commentator, Theodoret is best known as a church historian. He begins his narration with the rise of the Trinitarian controversy, *circa* 312, and comes down to 429, the eve of the controversy upon the Person of Christ. The history is thus a continuation of Eusebius's, as it is supplementary to those of Socrates and Sozomen, treating of important events which these authors omit. Its style is superior to theirs, and it cites original authorities, but it is not at all explicit in matters of chronology.

Philotheus; or, Lives of the Monks.

This work celebrates the virtues of thirty famous monks of Theodoret's time, many of whom he had known personally. One of these was the well-known Simeon Stylites, who among other austerities, such as passing the Lenten season absolutely without food or drink, stood for years upon the top of a lofty pillar. The book is written in a somewhat bombastic style, in accord with the fulsome praise which it bestows upon the monks even in their most extravagant excesses. But it is pleasant, amid so much that repels us in the lives of these ascetics, to find some things that compel our admiration, and make us feel that there was something of the divine in the impulse which drove so many men of that unsettled and wicked age into a life of solitude. Such is the incident related of the monk Marcian, descended from a noble family of Cyrus. He was in the habit of eating every day, about evening, a quarter of a pound of bread, accounting it better to eat every day, without ever fully satisfying his hunger, than to fast many days and then eat his fill. Another monk named Avitus having come to see him, after he had entertained him a long time, he caused supper to be got ready after the ninth hour, and invited the solitary to eat with him. The hermit told him that it was his custom not to eat till the sun was down, and that he sometimes staid two or three days without eating. Marcian desired him for once to waive that custom for his sake, because, being weak of body, he was not able to wait till the sun was down. Avitus demurring, he sat down to supper, saying that he was sorry that Avitus had taken so much pains to visit a person so intemperate. The guest then consented to eat, and Marcian said to him, "We have no custom more than you to eat before the sun is down,

but we are sensible that charity ought to be preferred before fasting, for that is commanded, but fasting is left to our own liberty, and we ought to prefer the law of God before any private institutions."

TREATISES.

Some of Theodoret's treatises are lost, among them five books against Cyril. We have his confutation of Cyril's twelve chapters and the four considerable works which follow:

Evanistes or Polymorphus.

This name is suggested by the many forms assumed by the error which the book combats. The first part of the work consists of three dialogues upon the nature of Christ, in which one speaker proposes questions and raises objections, and the other defends the true faith. The doctrine advocated is that Jesus Christ is both God and man, the human and the divine nature being united in one person, yet each subsisting without mixture or confusion with the other. Following the dialogues, which are written in a familiar style adapted to general readers, is a more scholarly synopsis of the argument.

Of Heretical Fables.

The first four of these five books give an historical sketch of the various heresies after the manner of Irenæus, Hippolytus, and Clement. In the fourth book the Nestorian heresy is described, but it is supposed that this part is a forgery, for it treats Nestorius with great severity, making him a veritable instrument of the devil, whereas Theodoret was always kindly disposed toward him. It is noticeable that neither Pelagians nor Origenists are named among the heretics. Book five gives a summary of

the true faith, and then treats of various points of morals.

Discourses of Providence.

These are ten discourses upon natural theology, delivered probably at Antioch. In them the author argues a providential design from the position of the heavenly bodies, the order of the elements, the contexture of man's body, the invention of the arts, and the dominion of man over the beasts. He answers some objections by showing that poverty and misfortune, which even just men have to endure, have their compensations; that virtue is profitable even though it be not recompensed in this world. In the last discourse it is taught that the love of God for man thus proved was chiefly shown in the incarnation of the Son.

Cure of Heathen Falsehoods.

This is a work of vast learning, quoting upward of a hundred heathen writers. The discourses, twelve in number, are elaborate in their style, and will compare favorably with any of the works of antiquity in defense of Christianity.

LETTERS.

Theodoret's letters, which are numerous, are generally divided into two classes, public and private epistles. The former relate chiefly to the troubles with the Egyptian party in the Church over the Nestorian question. Dupin says of Theodoret's letters that they all discover a great deal of piety, charity, and humility, and of the private letters that they have all the qualifications which render letters valuable, for they are short, plain, neat, elegant, civil, pleasant, full of matter, wit, and holiness.

THE CHURCH HISTORIANS.

EUSEBIUS so far exhausted the materials for the earlier history of the Church that his successors did not venture upon the same ground. Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, the three historians next in rank to Eusebius, and who all wrote about A. D. 450, began their works where his history left off. Of the last of these, as well as of the Father of Church History himself, we have already spoken. In addition to the authors given below may be named Philip of Side, a friend of Chrysostom, who wrote a History of Christianity in thirty-six books, the loss of which has been no great calamity to the world; Basil, of Cilicia, who wrote three books of Ecclesiastical History, now lost; and Theodorus the Reader, who made a summary of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, which he continued in two books, also lost.

SOCRATES.

Of the three nearly contemporaneous writers above named, Socrates probably wrote first. Born and educated in Constantinople, he for some years practiced law in that city, but gave up his professional work to devote himself to ecclesiastical studies. His history, which is in seven books, and comes down to the year 445, evinces large research and good judgment, and, though containing some evident mistakes, is for the most part accurate. Its style is plain and simple, to adapt it, as the author says, to all classes of people. Much care is taken in the matter of dates, and recourse is had to original authorities, such as public records, pastoral letters, and acts of synods. A noticeable peculiarity of

Socrates is the favor with which he always speaks of the Novatians, a predilection so strong that he has been thought by some to have belonged to that sect.

SOZOMEN.

This writer covers so nearly the same ground with Socrates that Valesius has not hesitated to say that one stole the materials of the other, and his opinion, as indeed the common one, is that Sozomen is the debtor. He, like Socrates, was a lawyer in Constantinople, but seems to have been a younger man, and to have continued his practice at the forum, which the other had abandoned to pursue his researches. His work is in nine books, the principal additions to what Socrates has related being in extended details in regard to monks and solitaries, and in his ninth book, which is devoted almost entirely to political history.

PHILOSTORGIUS.

A fourth work, covering the period from the beginning of the Arian to the beginning of the Nestorian controversy, was that of Philostorgius, written in the Arian interest. The work itself is lost, but we have an epitome of it by Photius, in which the orthodox fathers are handled with great severity. Though defending what may be called the rationalistic school of his day, Philostorgius was himself very credulous, and an ultra-supernaturalist. Having spoken in his last book of certain remarkable earthquakes, he says that the circumstances prove that such things do not happen through natural causes, but that they are sent down upon mankind as scourges of the divine wrath, for the purpose of converting sinners and bringing them to repentance.

EVAGRIUS.

Evagrius, an advocate of Antioch, wrote near the close of the sixth century, and continued the histories of the preceding century. Beginning with the Nestorian heresy, he comes down to the year 594. The history, about equal in volume to that of Theodoret, is written in a good style—Photius says with elegance and politeness. It gives much space, professedly, to the secular affairs of the period; but is earnest in its defense of orthodoxy, and makes frequent mention of prodigies and miracles.

OTHER WRITERS OF THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES.

The really great writers of the fourth century make authors, who two centuries later might have been prominent, seem insignificant. We, therefore, only refer to Eusebius of Emisa, Basil of Ancyra, Acacius of Cæsarea, Ætius, and Eunomius, Arian or semi-Arian writers whose works are now lost; Peter and Timothy, Patriarchs of Alexandria, authors of certain penitential canons; Eustathius and Melitius, Bishops of Antioch, authors of some minor works; Amphilochius of Iconium; several authors by the name of Macarius, one of whom has left us fifty homilies and seven spiritual treatises; Serapion, who wrote against the Manichees; and Antony, Pachomius, Orsiesis, Paphnutius, Theodorus, and Isaiah, all of Egypt, who wrote upon monastic rules. Worthy of notice in the fifth century were Severianus of Gabala, author of a few extant orations; Victor of Antioch, who claimed that his

commentary on Mark was the first to be written on that gospel; Asterius of Amasea, author of various homilies; Palladius, who wrote the "Lausiac History," or lives of the holiest monks of whom he had knowledge in Egypt, Libya, and Palestine, a book full of wild fancies, and also a life of Chrysostom; Isidore, a monk of Pelusium, from whose pen we have two thousand epistles, arranged in five books, on Scripture, on doctrine, on discipline, on advice and instruction, and on the discipline and life of monks; Theodotus of Ancyra, a zealous opponent of Nestorius, and writer of an exposition of the Nicene Creed; Eutherius, Bishop of Tyana, a courageous defender of Nestorius, who was deposed rather than conform, and who has given an account of the inquisitorial zeal with which his party were persecuted; Proclus, Patriarch of Constantinople, author of seven extant sermons and of an epistle to the Armenians on their faith; Nilus, an illustrious citizen of Constantinople, who became a monk and who left some hortatory sentences or proverbs; Basil, of Seleucia, author of some sermons; Æneas Gazeus, a Christian philosopher, who wrote a dialogue, called from one of the speakers Theophrastus, on the nature of the soul; and Nemesius, also a philosopher, who left a treatise on the nature of man. To the close of the fifth century is thought to belong the *pseud.* Dionysius Areopagitica, whose mystical works "On the Celestial Hierarchy" and "On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy" had much influence on the succeeding age.

Among the Greek Christian poets of the fourth and fifth centuries are named, in addition to Greg-

ory Nazianzen and Synesius, Amphilochius of Iconium, who, besides some sermons, left a poem which is sometimes assigned to his friend Gregory; Nonnus, who as a pagan had written a "Dionysiaca" of twenty-two thousand lines, and after conversion wrote a paraphrase of John's Gospel in hexameter verse; and the Empress Eudocia, whose only remaining work is known as Homeric Centos concerning Christ, being a compilation of Homeric verses to describe certain events in the life of our Lord. To these, all of whom wrote classic verse, should be added Anatolius, Patriarch of Constantinople, author of certain hymns used in the divine office of the Greek Church.

JOHN OF DAMASCUS.

THE engrosser of the theology of the Greek fathers. Yet this last of those fathers was not a mere copyist. He was born at Damascus, near the close of the seventh century. His father, though a Christian, held a high office under the Saracen Caliph, to which office at his death John succeeded. His Arabic name was Mansur; from the Greeks he later received the surname Chrysorrhoas (gold-pouring), on account of his eloquence. His education was gained from a learned monk, Cosmas, whom his father had redeemed from slavery. About A. D. 730 John wrote certain treatises in favor of the worship of images as against the iconoclasm of the Emperor Leo the Isaurian, which so incensed that monarch that, it is said, he forged a letter to the Caliph ac-

cusing his officer of treachery. The charge was at first believed, and John was condemned to lose his right hand. When, soon after, the fraud was discovered, the Caliph desired him to retain his office; but instead he gave away his property to the poor, and retired to the monastery of St. Sabas, near Jerusalem, where he spent the rest of his life in the preparation of his numerous works. It is said that he was ordained a priest at Jerusalem, and that he once traveled to Constantinople; but we have little positive knowledge concerning his life. The last notice of him as alive is in 754.

John is accounted a saint both by the Eastern and the Western Churches. Summing up as he does the thought of centuries, he "remains in later times," says an eminent scholar, "the highest authority in the theological literature of the Greeks." His original work, other than that of giving a logical form to the Greek body of divinity, had mainly to do with the controversy concerning images, of whose use he was a stanch defender. Living as he did under the caliphs and in the first century of Islamism, it disappoints us to find in his works so little regarding that great movement. He has indeed some fragments upon the "Saracen heresy" (!), but they hardly deserve mention. It is ungenerous, however, to speak of what John did not do. For nearly two centuries before his day the luminaries of the Eastern Church had been only feeble rush-lights; for almost a hundred years even such rush-lights had disappeared, and now suddenly from the lonely monastery of St. Sabas shot forth a flame worthy of shining in the best ages of the Church. What if

this kindling was the last flicker before the fire went out? The more the honor which we should bestow upon it, and the higher the estimate which we should put upon the great Damascene.

The author himself refers to his three most important works by the collective and ambitious title of

THE FOUNT OF KNOWLEDGE.

1. Dialectics.

This treatise is a philosophical introduction to the other two, and is substantially a summary of the "Categories" of Aristotle, to be employed as a test of truth in theology. The work is an important one, as having thus first applied the Aristotelian method to theology and as having (probably) introduced Aristotle to his earlier Arabian admirers and translators.

2. Of Heresies.

The first part of this work is a reproduction of earlier writings, chiefly those of Epiphanius. The more important later heresies treated are those of the Nestorians, the Monophysites, the Monotheletes, the Saracens or Ishmaelites, and the Image-Breakers. The book concludes with a confession of the true faith.

3. Of the Orthodox Faith.

This is a formal system of theology, the elements of which had been wrought out by the fathers of four centuries, principally by Athanasius, Basil, the two Gregorys, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodore, and Theodoret (who, however, were no longer recognized as authoritative theologians), and the *pseud.* Areopagite. As the first complete "Body of Divinity," and as thus crystallizing the opinions of the Greek fathers, it has been a work of large influence upon the subse-

quent history of theology. The four books into which modern editors have divided its hundred chapters treat respectively "Of the Being and Nature of God," "Of the Works of Creation and the Nature of Man," "Of Redemption through the Incarnation," and "Of Ecclesiastical Usages."

Of God it is said that, beyond his existence, we can affirm nothing save what the Holy Scriptures have revealed to us. As evidence of his existence we may urge the concurrent opinions of those who have and those who have not this revelation. Reason also affirms this, since the changeableness of all things proves that they were created, and, if a creation, then there must be a Creator. Notwithstanding his basing all knowledge of the mode of God's being upon revelation, he endeavors to argue the existence of the Son from the fatherhood of God, and predicates the being of the Spirit from the analogy of the breath in the nostrils of man. The Holy Spirit, he says, proceeds alone from the Father.

The motive to creation was God's goodness. In the description of the physical universe, reference is made to the opinions of various writers, as of Aristotle and Ptolemy, that the heavens are spherical, and of Chrysostom that they are hemispherical. The four rivers of paradise are said to be the Ganges, Nile, Euphrates, and Tigris, which are connected with the circumambient ocean-stream. In treating of the faculties of man, chief stress is laid on the freedom of his will, in virtue of which he fell into sin.

In discussing the Incarnation much prominence is given to the double nature and the twofold will and operation of the one person of Christ. The title "Mother of God" is defended, and Nestorius is sharply condemned. Christ endured hunger, weariness, sorrow, and fear only as he was human, and in that sense only could he increase in wisdom

and knowledge. His divinity, which remained with him even in death, was ever impassible. He needed not to pray, as being himself God; but he did pray, to give us an example.

The most distinctive part of the fourth book is that devoted to the cross, which he says should be worshiped, and to images and pictures in churches, which he says were first introduced to teach the unlearned truth, of which their ignorance of letters would else deprive them. He guards himself by saying that it is not the material of which cross and image are composed which is worshiped, but that which these represent. His view of the bread and wine of the sacrament is that they are "not a type of the body and blood of Christ—God forbid! but the very deified body of the Lord," being supernaturally changed through the invocation of the Holy Spirit. In the list of New Testament books which he gives is included the "Apostolical Canons," which he supposes to have been written by Clement. Concluding the work with some reflections upon the resurrection and the final judgment, the author says that then the devil, and his angels, and the ungodly shall be delivered up to everlasting fire, which "hell-fire shall not be material, as that among us, but such as God knows." Elsewhere he explains this to mean the unquenchable flame of sinful desires.

HYMNS.

For a brief notice of the character of the hymnology of this period, reference may be had to the closing pages of this volume. With common consent, John takes rank as the "chief of the Greek hymnodists." He wrote four hymns in classical verse: the "Birth of Christ," the "Epiphany," and "Pentecost" in iambics, and a "Prayer" in Anacreontics. He is chiefly known, however, as the au-

thor of canons—hymns consisting uniformly of nine odes composed of a variable number of stanzas—and "Idiomela"—stanzas without conventional form—used in the divine office of the Greek Church. His three principal canons are the so-called "Golden Canon, for Easter-Day," and those for Ascension and St. Thomas's Sunday. Among the "Idiomela" attributed to him are those of "The Last Kiss," used in the burial service. The knowledge which English readers have of these hymns is due almost entirely to Dr. J. M. Neale's little volume, "Hymns of the Eastern Church," from which we take the following brief translations simply to suggest the style of these hymns:

Ode I, of the Canon for Easter.

'Tis the day of Resurrection:
Earth! tell it abroad!
The Passover of gladness!
The Passover of God!
From death to life eternal,
From earth unto the sky,
Our Christ hath brought us over,
With hymns of victory.

Our hearts be pure from evil,
That we may see aright
The Lord in rays eternal
Of resurrection light;
And, listening to his accents,
May hear, so calm and plain,
His own—*All hail!*—and, hearing,
May raise the victor strain!

Now let the heavens be joyful!
Let earth her song begin!
Let the round world keep triumph,
And all that is therein.

Invisible and visible,
Their notes let all things blend—
For Christ the Lord hath risen—
Our Joy that hath no end.

Idiomela for All Saints.

Those eternal bowers
Man hath never trod,
Those unfading flowers
Round the throne of God:
Who may hope to gain them
After weary fight?
Who at length attain them,
Clad in robes of white?

He who gladly barters
All on earthly ground;
He who, like the martyrs,
Says, "I will be crowned!"
He whose one oblation
Is a life of love;
Clinging to the nation
Of the blest above.

Shame upon you, legions
Of the Heavenly King,
Denizens of regions
Past imagining!
What! with pipe and tabor
Fool away the light,
When he bids you labor,
When he tells you "Fight!"

While I do my duty,
Struggling through the tide,
Whisper thou of beauty
On the other side!

Tell who will the story
Of our now distress;
Oh, the future glory!
Oh, the loveliness!

PRINCIPAL WORKS.—Besides the works mentioned, we have a "Dialogue with a Saracen," chiefly interesting as being written so near the rise of Islamism; a "Dialogue with a Manichæan"; treatises "On the Two Natures," "Of the Two Wills," "On the Trisagion," upon the Trinity and the Incarnation; three orations on Images; fourteen orations or sermons; Commentaries on Paul's Epistles, drawn chiefly from Chrysostom; and "Sacred Parallels," his work next in value to modern readers to the "Fount of Knowledge," it being a collection of the opinions of the early fathers of the Church upon various points of morality and religion. The quotations are classified by subjects, and arranged under corresponding passages of Scripture.

OTHER LATE WRITERS.

THE most important works of the fourth and fifth centuries had been in some way connected with the Arian and Nestorian controversies, and often owed as much to the greatness of their themes as to the abilities of the writers. The corresponding themes of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries were the monophysite controversy, which culminated in Justinian's edict condemning the three chapters of Theodore, Theodoret, and Ibas, and in the fifth general council (A. D. 553); the monothelite controversy, which was provoked by the attempt of the Emperor Heraclius to conciliate the now schismatic monophysites, and culminated in the sixth general council (A. D. 680), which declared in favor of "two wills and two natural modes of work-

ing united without schism and without confusion, as well as without change"; and the iconoclastic controversy which gave rise to the seventh and last general council (A. D. 787), which is recognized by the Eastern and Western Churches.

The sixth century produced no single writer of prominence, since the most of the monophysite questions had all been extracted in the previous age, and the dry bones were now handled chiefly as a matter of politics. Following are the names of the noteworthy writers: Severus, a leader of the monophysites, who first cited Dionysius the Areopagite; Andrew of Cæsarea and Procopius Gaza, writers of commentaries; Maxentius, author of several controversial works in favor of monophysitism; Ephraem of Antioch, all of whose works are lost; Leontius, a favorer of Origen and Theodore of Mopsuestia, who wrote a book concerning the sects; the Emperor Justinian, who by courtesy is placed among ecclesiastical writers because of his edict of the Three Chapters; Cosmas Indicopleustes, who visited India and who wrote a work on Christian topography, of some value as showing the extensive organization of the Church at that time at the far East; Anastasius Sinaita, author of certain controversial works; John Climacus, a monk, author of the "Climax," or "Scale," a work in thirty chapters, each of which, as a step in the scale, treats of some point of Christian conduct; John Scholasticus, who made a collection of canons; Eustratius, who wrote on the *post-mortem* condition of souls; and Eulogius, Bishop of Alexandria, who wrote on Church government.

In the seventh century one author rises into prominence, the monk Maximus, who had been secretary of state to the Emperor Heraclius. He was the chief defender of the orthodox doctrine of the two wills as against the monothelites, both at the East and in the West, whither he traveled in the interests of the faith. He wrote much on theological and on practical subjects. Neander, in commenting somewhat at length upon his theological opinions, says that he is led thereto by "the solid inward worth and importance of this individual." Among Maximus's works are several collections of maxims—viz., four hundred spiritual maxims entitled "Of Charity," two hundred theological and economical maxims, and two hundred and forty-three moral maxims. His strictly theological works concern chiefly the controversy upon the single or double will of Christ.

Other writers were John Philponus, a grammarian of Alexandria, who wrote on the creation, and urged that the world was not eternal; Antiochus, abbot of the monastery of St. Sabas at the time when Chosroes captured Jerusalem, and author of a "Pandect of Divine Scripture," or compendium of the Christian religion; Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, a writer against the monothelites; and Andrew, Archbishop of Crete, nineteen of whose discourses are now extant. In the eighth century no prose writer is worthy of mention here except John of Damascus.

The classical poets of this period, besides the Damascenes, were Paul Silentiarius and George Pisides, both court poets. The former, in the sixth

century, wrote a descriptive poem on the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople; the latter, in the seventh century, was author of several poems, the most ambitious of which was on the "Six Days' Work."

THE GREEK HYMNOLOGISTS.

WITH the eighth century began a new epoch of Greek Christian poetry—that, namely, in which it elaborated the divine office of the Greek Church. The hymns composed for this purpose were not poetry at all in the old classical sense, but rather metrical prose more resembling the Hebrew psalms than classical odes or our modern hymns. There had been some contributions to this ecclesiastical hymnology previous to this time, as by Anatolius in the fifth century, but the period of chief production, and which has some claim to originality and freshness, was that of the iconoclastic controversy. As already stated, John of Damascus ranks first among these ecclesiastical poets. Other names which come within our period are Andrew Cretensis; Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople; Cosmas of Jerusalem, and Stephen the Sabaïte. Next in rank to John was Cosmas, his foster-brother. Retiring together to the monastery of St. Sabas, the two vied with each other in thus hymning the divine praise as they did in devotion to ascetic duties. Cosmas was afterward made bishop of Maiuma, near Gaza. A stanza from Ode IX of his "Canon for Christmas Day" has been rendered by Dr. Neale as follows:

O wondrous mystery, full of passing grace!
The grot becometh Heaven; the Virgin's breast
The bright Cherubic Throne; the stall, that place
Where He who fills all space vouchsafes to rest;
Christ our God, to whom we raise
Hymns of thankfulness and praise!

Stephen the Sabaïte was a nephew of John, and was only ten years old when taken by him to the monastery where he passed his life. Of the few hymns which he left, the following, under the sympathetic touch of Dr. Neale, its translator, has taken its place as one of the most beautiful hymns of modern times. No happier leave could be taken of the Greek fathers than in these lines which show that under the rough garb of a monk, who had fallen upon sad days when the Cross was bowing before the Crescent, there beat the same loving, loyal heart with which the disciple of to-day bows before his Lord:

Art thou weary, art thou languid,
Art thou sore distressed?
"Come to me," saith One, "and, coming,
Be at rest!"

Hath he marks to lead me to him,
If he be my guide?
"In his feet and hands are wound-prints,
And his side."

Is there diadem as Monarch,
That his brow adorns?
"Yea, a crown in very surety,
But of thorns."

If I find him, if I follow,
What his guerdon here?
"Many a sorrow, many a labor,
Many a tear."

If I still hold closely to him,
What hath he at last?
"Sorrow vanquished, labor ended,
Jordan past."

If I ask him to receive me,
Will he say me nay?
"Not till earth, and not till heaven,
Pass away!"

Finding, following, keeping, struggling,
Is he sure to bless?
"Angels, martyrs, prophets, virgins,
Answer, 'Yes!'"

THE END.

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